

Maria Lucy Watson

THE
Histories
OF THE
Lives and REIGNS
OF
HENRY the Third,
AND
HENRY the Fourth.
KINGS OF
England:

Written by Sir Robert Cotton, and
Sir John Heywood Knights.

London, Printed, and are to be sold by
Peter Parker at the Leg and Star in Cornhill,
against the Royal Exchange, 1619.

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SHORT VIEW
OF
THE LONG RAIGN
OF KING
HENRY
the third.



Enriched with the lit-
gling calamities of Ca-
vill Armes, not af-
frighted at the sudden
fall of a lioness, Son
vanishing all were dead
at gaze, expecting the great of their
long desires (peace) and some of their
new hopes (Benevolence) were in every
shift

Aug 22

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Hist. Mi-
nor. Mar.
Paris.

Mitch.
Paris.

Hist. Ma-
jor.

shift of Princes there are few, either so meane, or modest, that please not themselves with some probable object of preferment. To satisfie all, a child ascendeth the throne, mild and gracious, but easie of nature, whose Innocency and naturall goodnesse led him safe along the various dangers of his Fathers Raigne: Happy was hee in his Vnkle the Earle of Pembroke, the guide of his infancy, and no lesse then for thirty yeares after, whilst De Burgo, that fast servant of his Fathers against the French, both in Normandy and England, with Bygod Earle of Norfolke, and others of like gravity and experience did mannage the affaires. Few and no other were the distempers then in State, but such as are incident to all, the Commons greedy of liberty, and the Nobility of Rule, and but one violent storme raised by some old and constant followers of his Father, Eulco de Breton de Forstibur, and others, men that could only thrive by the Warres, misliking those dayes of sloath (for so they term

med that calme of King Henrys Government;) and the rather because the Justice of quiet times urged from them to the lawfull owners, such Lands and Castles, as the fury of Warre had unjustly given them, for finding in the uprightnesse of the King, that power of protection should not be made a wrong doer, they fell out into that rebellion, that with it ended their lives and competitors, professing that those their swords that had set the Crowne upon their Soveraignes head, when neither Majesty nor Law could, should now secure those small pectances to their Masters, when Majesty or Law would not. Dangerous are too great benefits of Subjects to their Princes, when it maketh the mind onely capable of merit, nothing of duty. No other disquiet did the State after this feele, but such as is incident in all, the malice to Authority: Good and great men may secure themselves from gulls, but not from envy: for the greatest in trust of publicke affaires are still shot at by the

Hist. 8.
Albion

showing of those that deeme them-
 selves idle in idleness (then they
 would be idle) These vapours did ever
 and daily vanish, so long as the hee
 was guided by temperate Spirits, and
 his Kingdome his Actions to the rule
 of good Conscience, and not to young
 passions, as he had been before, so now
 they were more cooled, and all
 the old guides of his youth were dead;
 but the dayes of a man now born no-
 thing of youth was wanting but mo-
 deration, yet both length of dayes giv-
 ing him the advantage of sleep, and
 his owne Ambition did not give
 him desire, and Act to keep out
 sleep, which wrought him into the
 small Eerie of most, and that increased
 in the Time of Henry, and great
 Edward King then gave him of his
 by this, but wrought, as in the selfe, so
 in the hearts of the people; a Revol-
 tion, the afflictions of this Father
 forgiven, and the sight of long
 peace, purchase having let in some
 of the worst kind, the Commons to
 what dayes, present some new
 work

worst, common, and thinge to saye
they never remembred, and con-
demne the present, though they know
neither the disease thereof, nor the re-
medy.

To these idle and vnskilfull humours
fell in some of the yong wild, and
spirits; who beinge as truly ignorant as the
rest) first by falsifying the wisdom
of the present, and guesse of Rulers
(makinge each casuall matter their
ownes) seeme to disciphne every blo-
mish in Government, and then by
holding certaine imaginary and fan-
tastick formes of Commonwealthes
flatter their owne better abilities
that they can mold any State, to such
generall rules, in which any particular
application will prove idle and greeke
abstraction.

Now confirmed in their owne
worth by flattery and opinion, they
take it for time to waste themselves in
invention, and in playment, when
they had long desired good and
honorable service to their country.

due for, and doubtlesse, the furthest of their time was yet, to become quiet instruments in serving the State, if they had boene then held fit and worthy.

But the King taught by the new Earle, That *Consilia senum busta juvenum esse*; and that such wits, (for so they would bee stiled) were *Nervandia quam gerendia rebus aptiores*; fitter in being factious to disorder, then to settle affaires, either denied or delayed their desires; for wise Princes will ever choose their Instruments *Par negotiis*, and not *supra*, Creatures out of meere election, that are onely theirs, otherwise, without friends or power.

Amongst this inequall medly, there were of the Nobility, Richard Earle of Pembroke, Gloucester, and Hartford, darlings of the multitude; some for the merit of their Fathers, whose memories they held sacred, as Pillars of publike liberty, and opposers of encroaching Monarchy: at *Ranemede* the Armies met. And of the Gentry, Fitz-

*Fitz-Gosseory, Bardolph, Grisle, Moun-
sell and Fitz-John*, Spirits of as much
Acrimony and Arrogant spleene, as
the places from whence they were
elected, Campe, Court, or Countrey,
could afford any: These by force
would effect what the other did af-
fect by cunning; but all impatient, to
see their ends thus frustrate, and that
so long as the King followed the di-
rection of the Earle of Kent, they
had small hope of their desires, they
made often meetings; and as one saith
of them, *Glam & nocturnis colloquor
aut fletum in vespertum die.*

In the end, *Sammeray* and *Spencer*,
two that were farre in opinion with
therest, Gentlemen, by Forraigne edu-
cation, and imployment, more qua-
lified then usually men of these times;
and that set upon their owne deserts;
the best places when the Streame
should turne, (which one of them,
Spencer, did unworthily obtaine, for
he died in actual Rebellion, *Justi-
ciarum Anglia*; against his master)
advised that the best means to re-
move

Cham-
ber Pe-
vins.

Mar. 2
76.

A Short View of the Long Reign

and the great and good edifice, the Earl of Kent, out of the way of their advancement; was by sitting in to his actions; and sitting with his opposite. The Bishop of Winchester, (an ill man, but gracious with the King) making still their ends; that the worthier being driven out by the word, they shall either be able to mate him with his owne vice, which will be ever more visible, as hee is more potent, and to remove him at pleasure; or else give over the King to such Ministers, to their bad desires, as loosing him the hearts of his people, might smooth him away to their bad desires. *Thomas* *quod* *habeat* *responsibile* *desiderium*, *per* *hunc* *modum* *consequitur* *se* *ipsum* *in* *hunc* *modum*. Thus, Counsell heard, approved and put in practice, the corrupt and ambitious Bishop is daily initiated to their past, by aduice and opinion, or increase of power.

Articles are in haste forged, and offered against the Earle, as late of Gloucester, and was of the Kings Treasurie;

sure; and lastly, (which was the
last full time held against) giving
allowance to any thing that
might breed a rupture between the
Sovereign and the Subjects, as he
had done in this way with the
King, to annihilate all Patents gran-
ted in his honage, and enforced the
Subject to pay as the record hath,
Now I have seen the said Patents, and
have seen the manner of execution, which
is well, the closed blanket of all,
but the last, and did worthily perish
by it; for who that All Princes Col-
lers, are ever the ruins of their first
Inventors; but how corrupt good
Councils, and make the best Ministers,
seek to the last of Princes, there-
fore this King cannot easily be mis-
taken, that would so easily diminish
former merits, or so good a servant,
for that wherein simplicity was chief
in fact, and not the stored subtilties
But Princes' natures are more va-
riable, and sooner cold than others,
more transitory their favours, and
their minds are large, so they easily
are

Lib. Ber-
monstrant
re Albani
Albani

over-lookes their first election, tying their affections, no further than their owne satisfactions.

The Bishop now alone managet the State; chooseth his chiefe instrument, *Peter de Bevelin*; a man like himselfe; displaceth his natives, and draweth *Paidions* and *Bevillons* into Offices of best trust, and benefit; and the King into an evill opinion of his people. For nothing is more against the nature of the *English*, then to have Strangers rule over them: of this man time, *Wendover*, an Authour then living, saith, *Judicia commutuntur in justis Leges ex legibus Pax discordantibus justitia iniquitate*. Thus the plot of the tumultuous Barons went cleare, and had not the discreeter Bishop calmed all by dutifull perswasions, and informing the King that the support of this bold mans power (whose carriage before had lost his Father *Normandy* the love of his people, and in that his Crowne) would by teaching the sonne to reject in passion the just petitions of his loyall

Sub

Regis Ros-
sen.
Annals de
Ely.

Subjects, (as of late the Earle of Pembroke his Earle Marshall of England the due of his Office) drive all the State into discontent by his bad advise, and corrupt manners, doubtlesse the rebellious Lords had ended this distemper, as their designe was, in a civill Warre.

Denials from Princes must bee supplied with gracious usage, that though they cure not the sore; yet they may abate the sence of it; but best it is, that all favours come directly from themselves; denials and things of bitterness from their Ministers.

Thus are the Strangers all displaced and banished, Rivallis extortions ransackt, by many strict Commissions of enquiry; the Bishop sent away disgraced, finds now that *Nulla quæ sita scelere potestula disturna*; and that in Princes favours there is no subsistence betweene the highest of all, and precipitation. The Lords still frustrate of their malitious ends, beganne to sow of these late grounds of the peoples discontent, *Quædam de ambiguo*

Claus. an.
no 37.
H. 3. M.
26.
Chron.
Hall.

and simple persons, by giving them
 honours, wealth, and robes, it is a de-
 sign to enslave and glorify them-
 selves with the senectile multitude,
 by depriving the Kings discretion,
 and Government, whose nature too
 gentle for such insolent Spies, was
 forced (as Tully saith) to keele as
 hee plainly did, advise and love a-
 mongst strangers; seeing no desert
 could purchase it at home, all bore
 themselves like Tutors and Control-
 lers, few like Subjects and Council-
 lours; God we see holdeth the hearts
 of Princes, and sendeth them such
 Counsellours as the quality of the Sub-
 ject meriteth. *For instance* a Frenchman be-
 came the next Object of the Kings
 delight, a Gentleman of choyce blood,
 education, and feature, on this man
 centred, the hearty affection of the
 Sovereigne did so much Dote, that
 his first entrance of Grace, in entry
 of the Holding, hee made him Earle
 of Arundell, and in no lesse offence
 to the Country, by violating the rule

of King Henry the fourth

of the holy Church, gave him, his
 vowed, veiled sister to wife. More
 of Art then usually some have de-
 med this act of the Kings, making
 the tyte of his dependancy, the
 strength of his assurance, so both at
 his will, howebeit in whole blash of
 with dalliance of his Mother, for
 discretion in youth, attended great
 and sudden fortune, for draweth
 all publick affaires into this narrow
 hands, all favours must passe from him,
 all preferments by him, all faires ad-
 dressed to him, the King but a ci-
 pper set to stile to this figure, the more
 of number. Great is the Sovereigns
 error, when the hope of Subjects
 make themselves it, selfe beholding in
 the service, which ought immediatly
 to be acknowledged, from the
 goodness and good election of him-
 selfe. Though Princes may take about
 others some reposefull friend, with
 whom they may participate their
 rest passions, yet ought they to be
 sacred

Chen.
 1048. Sp
 grave.

per the affaires of their favour, that they corrupt not the effects of their principalities.

At this the great and gravest men began to grieve, knowing the unworthy without honour, or merit, thus to deale alone in that which should passe through their hands, and to leape over all their heads, to the greatest Honour and Offices, and therefore runne along with the then rising grace of the Kings halfe brethren, (though strangers) hoping thereby to divide that power, which otherwise they saw impossible to breake.

*Chron.
Reading.*

Eyester confident of his Masters love, and impatient to beare either rivall in favour, or partner in rule, opposeth them all, but findeth in his ebbe of favour, the Fortune of others, and that this King could ever as easily transerre his fancy, as hee had setled his affection. Great weelee must bee the art and cunning of that man, that keepes himselfe a floate in the streame of *Soveraignes* favour, since the
change

change of Princes wils, which for the most part are full of fancy and soone satiate are hardly arrested: Who to would effect this, must onely attend the honour and service of his Master, and dispoiled of all other respects, transforme himselfe into his inward inclination and worke into necessity of imployment, by undergoing the Offices of most secrecy, either of publick service, or Princes pleasures; hee must also beate downe Competitours of worth by the hands of others, conceale his owne greatnesse in publick with a fained humility, and what impotency or Government hee affecteth, let it rather seeme the worke of others, out of conveniency, then any appetite of his owne.

Now were the raines of rule, by this advantage, taken by the rebellious Lords, and put alone into the hands of the Kings halfe brethren: *Adam, Guido, Godfrey, and William*, himselfe as before; *Et magna Fortuna licentiam tantum usurpans*: For to act his owne part, hee was ever wicr-drawne when

heo

H. Knight
ton. M.
Leyest.

A short view of the long Raigne

he had such worthy servants as would
often for his Honour urge it. For
these Masters, (as *Wallingford* termeth
them) *Tanta est iactantia quod nec
superiorem sibi intelligunt, nec parem
nullius & nullius adulationibus ani-
mum Regis pro libero voluntatis & ra-
tione transire declinantes*; doe alone
what they list. They fill up the place
of Justice and Trust; with their Coun-
treymen, strangers exact of whom,
how, and what they please; waite the
Treasure and Crowne lands on them-
selves, and their followers; set prices
on all offences; and raine the Law
within the rule of their owne Breasts.
The usuall reply of their servants, to
the plaints of the Kings Subjects, be-
ing *Quis tibi rectum faciet? Dominus
Rex vult*; quod *Dominus meus vult*;
these Strangers seemed in their Law-
lesse carriage not to have beene in-
vited, but to have entred the state by
Conquest. The great men they en-
forced not to obey, but to serve, and
the meane to live so as they might
fully say, they had nothing; yet least
the

agore : For all the Villages of the Kingdome were left a prey to the lawlesse Multitude : Who *Per diversas partes itinerantes velut per Consensum aliorum*, (as the Record saith) did imply that the factious Lords suspected by the King, had given some heat to that commotion ; Seditious Peeres bringing ever fewell to such popular fires.

Neither was the Church without a busie part in this Tragick worke; for Walter Bishop of Worcester, and Robert of Lincolne, to whom Mountford and his faction, *Præcordialiter adhaerebant* were farre engaged. In such designs, Church-men are never wanting, and the distast of the present Government, (as well in the Church as in the Common-wealth) will ever bee a knot of strength for such unquiet Spirits, who as well frame to themselves some other forme of Government; then the present in the Church, as in the temporall state, as that which with the giddy multitude winneth best opinion, and did at this time fitly

il. de
Rishanger.

J. ord
1541

fitly suite the peoples humours; so much distasting the new Courts of the Clergy, their pompe, their greedinesse, and the Popes extortions.

A faire pretext was it to those factious Bishops, to use their bitter pens and speeches, so farre against Religious Orders, Ceremonies, and State of the Church, that one of them incurred the sentence of Excommunication at Rome, and Treason at home; for hee enjoyned the Earle of Leycester, *In remissione peccatorum ut causam illam* (meaning his Rebellions) *usque ad mortem assumeret, assensu pacem Ecclesie Anglicane nunquam sine gladio materiali posse firmari.* It was not the best Doctrine that this man could plant, by liberty or warre, when the first Church rose by fasting and prayer.

True Piety binds the Subject to desire a good Sovereigne, but to beare with a bad one, and to take up the burthen of Princes with a bended knee, rather in time so to deserve abatement, then resist authority.

Church.

Mat. Par.
ra.

Wil. de
Risbarger.

Church was therefore ought
always to lead us in the rule
of duty but a knowledge of our own
duties, in difficult points of Religion
where an humble ignorance is a fa-
vour and secure knowledge we may re-
ly upon them.

To suppress these troubles and su-
per the Kings extremity, a Parliamen-
t was called much to the liking
those Lords who at little means
relieve the King, as they did to a-
quiet the State. their end at that time
being only to open at home the po-
verty of their Master, to lessen his re-
putation abroad, and to brave
their owne passions freely. When
those times of liberty were over.

Here they began to tell him hee
wronged the publick State, in taking
to his private election the Justice
Chancellour, and Treasurer. they
should bee only by the Common
Councell of the Realme. so com-
manding such the Bishop of Chichester
denying delivery of the great Seal
but in Parliamen where he received
the

Barth. Co-
ron.

Chron.
Narrat.
Chron.
Winc.

N. Paris.

Winc.

They blame him to have bestowed the best places of trust and benefit in his gift on Strangers, and to leave the English unrewarded, to have undone the trade of Merchants, by bringing in Maltoles and heavy cuttomes, and to have hurt the Common liberty, by *non obstantes* in his Patents, to make good Monopolies for private favorites.

Wallingford.

Paria.

Wil de Rishanger.

That hee hath taken from his Subjects, *Quicquid habuerunt in esculentis & poculentis. Rusticorum enim equos bigas vina vitualia ad libitum cepit.*

Chron. S. Albani.

That his Iudges were sent in circuits, under pretext of Iustice, to fleece the people, *Causis ficticiis quosunque poterant diripuerunt.*

And that Sir Robert de Purflore had wrong from the Borderers of his Forrest, under pretence of encroachments or assarts, great summes of money.

And therefore, they wonder, that hee should now demand reliefe from his so pilled and polled Commons,

Gual de Coventry.

B

who

Wil. de
Risbarger.

Chron.
Litchf.

Hist. Mi-
nor.

Wil. de
Risbarger.
Epist. Ro-
bert. Lin-
colne.

who by their former extremities;
*Et per auxilia prius data ita depau-
perantur, ut nihil aut parum habeant in
bonis.* And therefore advised him,
that since his needlesse expence, *Post-
quam regni capit esse dilapidatur,* was
summed up by them to above
800000. l. It were fitting to pull
from his favorites, who had gleaned
the Treasure of his Kingdome, and
shared the old Lands of the Crowne,
seeing one of them there, whom the
Lords described to bee *Miles litte-
ratus,* or *Clericus militaris,* who had
in short space from the inheritance
of an acre, growne to the Possession
of an Earledome; and *Mansel* ano-
ther inferiour Clarke that (besides 50.
promotions with the cure of soules)
rose to dispend in annuall revenue
4000. markes, whereas more mo-
derate Fees would have become a
pen-man, no better qualified then
with the ordinary fruits of a writing
Schoole; yet if a moderate supply
would suite with the Kings occasions,
they were content to performe so
farre

farre reliefe in Obedience, as the desert of his carriage should merit toward them. And so is the Record saich, *Dies datur fuit in tres septimanas ut interim Rex excessuos suos corrigeret, & Magnates voluntati ejus obtemperarent.*

Matth.
Paris.

At which day upon new grant of the great Charter, admittance to his Councell of some persons elected by the Commons, and promise to rely upon his Natives, and not Strangers; for advise hereafter; they spare him such a pittance as must tie him to their Devotion, for a new supply.

Regis Rosen.

Johan. de Wallingford.

Thus Parliaments that before were ever a medicine to heale up any rupture in Princes fortunes, are now growne worse then the maldady, fith from thence more malignant humours begainne to raigne in them, then well composed tempers.

The King by this, experienced of the intents of his rebellious Lords, and finding that the want of Treasore was the way whereby they intralled

Chron. de Litch.

his Majesty, begins now to play the good husband closeth his hand of wast, and resolves himselfe (too late) to stand alone, such experience is pernicious to the private, and dangerous to the publique good of a State, when it never learns to doe, but by undoing, and never sees order, but when disorder shewes it. Yet still, alas, such was his flexibility, when hee came to bee pressed by his *French* Minions, that hee could not hold his hand any longer, from their vast desires, and endlesse wast. So that an Author then living, saith, it became a by word, *Our inheritance is converted to Aliens, and our houses to Strangers.* Followers to a King excessive gifts, are excessive in demands, and cut them not out by reason, but by example: Favours past are not accomplished, wee love no bounty but what is meerely future; the more that a Prince weakeneth himselfe in giving, the poorer hee is of friends. For such prodigality in a Sovereigne, ever ends in the rapine and spoile of his Subjects.

Yet before the King would againe submit himselfe, as hee had the last Parliament, to so many brave and strict inquiries of his disloyall Subjects, hee meaneth to passe through all the shifts, that extremity of need, with greatnesse of mind could lay upon him. Hee beginneth first with sale of Lands, and then of Jewels, pawneth *Gascoyne*, and after that, his Imperiall Crowne, and when hee had neither credit to borrow, (having so often failed, the trust hee had made,) nor pawns of his owne, hee then layeth to pawne the Jewels and Ornaments of *St. Edwards Shrine*; and in the end, not having meanes to defray the diet of his Court, was enforced to breake up house, (and as *Paris* saith) with his Queene and Children, *Cum Abbasibus & Prioribus sacis humiliter Hospitia qua fuit & prandia.*

Claus. an.
no 46. &
47. Hen. 3.

Claus. an.
no 37.
Hen. 3.

This low ebbe, which againe the Kings improvidence had brought him to, gave great assurance to the Rebellious Lords, that they should now at the last, have the Sovereigne

power, left a prey to their ambitious designs, and to bring it faster on, they desire nothing more, than to see the Kings extremity. Constrain a Parliament, for at such times, Princes are ever lesse then they should bee, Subjects more.

Wil. de
Rishanger.

To hasten on the time, and adapt the meanes, there are sowne certaine seditious rumours, that the Kings necessity must repaire it selfe upon the fortunes and blessings of his people, that having nothing of his owne left, hee might and meant to take of others: For Kings may not want, as long as the Subjects have meanes to supply.

This tooke fire just to their minds, and wrought a little moving in the State, which doubtlesse had flamed higher, if the King had not allwaged it by Proclamations, wherein hee declared, *Quod quidam malivoli sinistra predicantes, illis falso suggererant, illum velle eos indebite gravari,*

Claus. ar.
no 49.
ib. 3.

gravari, ac iura & libertates Regni
subverti, & per suggestiones illas do-
losus & omnia falsas eorum corda à
sua maledictione, & fidelitate averte-
rent, but desireth, that, Huiusmodi ani-
morum suorum perturbationibus ne su-
um adhiberent, for that hee was ever
ready to defend them from the op-
pression of the great Lords, Et om-
nia iura & consuetudinis eorum debitas
bonas, & consuetas, in omnibus & per
omnis plenius observare, and that they
may rest of this securo: De voluntate
sua libera iuribus suis facit parentem
But seeing still, that Majesty and right
subsist not without meanes and pow-
er, and himselfe had of neither, so
much as would stop the present
breach in his owne wants, or his Sub-
jects loyalties, hee fieth to the bo-
some of his people, for relict and
Councell;

At Oxford they met in Parliament;
where his necessity, met so many
undutifull demands, that hee was for-
ced to render up to their Rebellious
will, his Royall power.

Parl O
on.

Here the Commons knowing that, *Quum elegere imperium*, they were *Loca libertatis*, stood with the King to have the managing of the State, put to the care of twenty four, whereof twelve by their election, (where to they lookt strictly) and the other by him, who in all things else, was left a Cipher, and in this, whether by feare, or remissiones, filled up his number with *Mountford*, *Gloucester*, and *Spencer*, which besides the weakening of his owne part, wonne to those his late opposites, an opinion of great interest they had got in his favour, hee now hath left neither election of publick office, nor private attendants, his halfe brethren and their followers, hee must dispoile of all fortune, and exile by prescription under his owne hand, commanding his writs, *Pro transportatione fratrum suorum*, to bee directed to the Earles of *Hartford* and *Surrey*, and not to passe either their Money, Armes, or Ornaments, *Nisi in forma quam dicti Comes injunxerent*, and after their departure

Marth.
Paris.
Chron.
Werc.

Chron.
Litchf.

ture enjoyned the men of Bristol, that they should not permit any Strangers, *Sive propinquos Regis applicare in portu*, but so to behave themselves therein, that as well the King, *Quam Magates sui eos merito debeant commendare.*

Claus. no 49.
Hen. 3.

Thus wee see, how easily mens estates doe change in a moment, and how hard it is to make use of all things ill gotten.

Richard elect of the Empire, the Kings full brother, and then beyond Sea, must bee wrought by letter, as his free desire to confirme by oath those former restrictions of regall power; which though performed, yet would the Lords suffer neither the one or the other, to enter Dover Castle (the key of the Kingdome) which they had furnished, as most of the other Fortes of reputation in the Realme with Guardians of their owne, sworne respectively to the State; and then taking the like assurance of all the Shrieffes, Bailiffes, Coroners, and other publick Ministers, searching the

Chron. Alban.

Regis Respon.

Rest. in
Serio.
Mil. de
Riffranger.

behaviour of many by strict Commission upon oath, to winne opinion in shew among the Vulgar, who groaned under their late Extortions, whereas their end was truly, as it after proved, by displacing the faithfull servants of the King, to open a way, to their owne dependants.

Thus changing sole power into the rule of many, and those by popular election, made the State beleewe, that this forme of limited policy, they had utterly suppressed the mind of man, for ever dreaming more upon the imaginary humours of licentious Sovereignty: But it fell out nothing so, for now every man beganne to estimate his owne worth, and to hammer his head on every desight, that might enlarge his power and command.

Then beganne the great men to rent from the body of the Crownes, and regall Signiories, all such royall Suitours as neighboured any of their owne seats, whereto they enfore their service,

service, and so (as the Record saith) *Ad*
seclat indebitas, & servitutes intollera-
biles subditos Regis compulerunt: Thus
 raising meane manners to become
 great Honours, and renting a sunder
 the regall Justice, they made them-
 selves of so many Subjects whilst
 they lived in duty, *Totidem Tiranni*
 (as the booke of Saint Albans saith)
 when they had left their loyalty,
Magnas induxerunt Magnates Reg-
ni, super subditos Regis servitutes & op-
pressiones, which they bore patiently;
 for excesse of misery having no ease
 but Custome, made men willing to lay
 the foundation of servitude by the
 length of sufferance, which found no
 ease or end, untill the quiet of this
 Kings raigne.

Mountford, Glocester, and Dispen-
 cer, the heads of this Rebellious de-
 signe, having by the late provisions
 drawne to the hands of the twenty
 foure *Tribunes*, of the people, the en-
 tire manning of the Royall State,
 and finding that power too much
 dispersed, to worke the end of their
 desires,

Rot. K.
 in Sch.
 56. H.

Walling-
 ford.

desires, forst againe the King to call a Parliament, where they delivered over the authority of the twenty foure unto themselves, and create a *Triumvirate, non constituenda Republica causa*, as they first pretended, for their owne ends, and so in the interest of some private contented, the publike was stayed; but to make a speedier way to one of them as it fatally did, to become *Dilator perpetuus*. Ambition is never so high, but shee thinks still to mount, that station which seemed lately the top, is but a step to her now, and what before was great in desiring, seemes little being once in power.

These three, elect nine Councellours, and appoint, *Quod tria ad minus alternatim semper in curia sint*, to dispose of the custody of Castles, *Et de aliis Regni negotiis*, the chiefe Justice, Chancellour, and Treasurer, with all offices. *Ad majores & minores*, they reserve the choyce of to themselves, and bind the King to this hard bargain upon such strong security, that

hec

He is contented under the great Seale,
and Oath, to loose to them the knot
of Regall duty, whensoever hee assu-
meth to himselfe his Regall dignity,
*Liceat omnibus de Regno nostro contra
nos, insurgere & ad gratiam nostram
venire & operam dare ut si nobis in nullo
conveniantur.* This prodigy of fortune
of whom shee had set a pittifull exam-
ple of her inconstancy, finding no part
of his Sovereignty left, but the bare
Title, and that at their leave, beggeth
succour from *Urban* the fourth, a-
gainst his disloyall Subjects.

The Pope by his Bull cancelleth
his Oath, and contract, and armed him
with Excommunications against all
those that returne not with speed, to
their due and old obedience, since
promises made by men, which cannot
say they are at liberty, are weak, and
force hath no power to make just in-
terest.

The Lords on the other side, that
had impd their wings with Eagles
feathers, and liked no game now, but
what was raked out of the ashes of
Monar-

*Chron. O-
ryin. sub
figillo.*

*Chron.
Luchf.
Wil. de
Risinger.*

*Chr. Bris-
tannia.**Chron.
Dunst.**W. d. de
Rishargis.*

Monarchy, made head against the
Sovereigne, and to mate him the bet-
ter, called in aid, some *French* forces.
Thus the Common-wealth turned
gaine her sword into her owne bow-
els, and invited her ancient Enemy,
the funerall of her liberty, so that it was
a wonder, shee should not at this time
passe under a forraine servitude: And
though these men were more trou-
sensible of their owne disgrace, than
of others misery: Yet found they a
better pretext for private interest, than
that of the publick.

And therefore at the entry of the
Warre, they cried liberty, although
when they came neere to an end, they
never spake word of it.

At *Lewis* the Armies met, where
the King endeavours a reconciliation,
but in vaine, for perswasions are ever
unprofitable, when Justice is inferior
to force.

The sword decides the difference,
and gave the two Kings, and the
eldest Sonnes Prisoners. The people
now as well as the regall power, the

in the hands of *Mountford* and *Gloucester*, found neither bound of security, nor expectation of liberty, but what the emulous competition of greatness (which now beganne to breake out betweene these mighty Rivals,) gave hope of; for *Leicester* meaning by ingrossing from his partner, to himselfe, the person of the King, and to his followers the best portion of the spoile, to draw more fruit from this advantage, then it should in fellowship yeeld, dissolved the knot of all their amity.

Thus equall Authority with the same power, is ever fatall (wee see) to all great actions: For to fit minds to so even a temper, that they should not have some motions of dissenting is impossible.

Mountford having thus broken all faith with his confederates, and duty to his Sovereigne, left the path of moderation and wisdom, to come to the King, by that of pride and distrust. To him, he telleth, that his armes and ends had no other object ever but

but order of the State, and ease of the people, that hee did not in this, carry affection against duty, but well knew how to reine his desires, to his just power, and so no lesse to his Majesties content, if hee would bee ruled; which was to command the Fortes and Castles of his now opposite *Glocester*; and the rest into his hands. It was hard to this King thus to take a Law from his inferiour, but necessity in Sovereigne affaires doth often force away all formality; and therefore this poore Prince, who now at the Victors discretion, seemed to have beene onely raised to shew the inconstancy of fortune and vanity of man, suited himselfe with incomparable wisdom according to the necessity of the time; Neither did humility wrong Majesty, when there was no other meane to containe Spirits so insolent, but dissembling. Hee therefore summoneth in his owne person the sorts of his fastest friends, to yeeld to his greatest enemies. This hee enters in shewes his

lod-

lodging, but in effect his prison, and
saw himselfe forced to arme against
his friends, and to receiue new Law
from him, to whom hee secretly thought
to give it. Thus *Leycester* is become
a darling of the Common rout, who
easily change to every new Master,
but the best durst not faile along his
fortune, by the light of his glory:
Christall that fairely glistereth doth
easily breake, and as the ascent of usur-
ping royalty is slippery, so the top is
shaking, and the fall fearefull. To
hold this man then at the entry of his
false felicity fully happy, was but to
give the name of the Image, to the
mettle that was not yet molten, for
by this, the imprisoned Prince was
escaped, and fast assured of *Glocester*,
by the knot of his great mind, and
discontent, and both with the torne
remainder of the loyall Army united,
and by speedy march arrived unloo-
ked for, neere *Evesham*, to the unar-
med troupes of the secure Rebels,
whom they instantly assailed, for it
was no fit season to give time, when
no

no time did assure so much, as expectation did promise.

Dispencers and other Lords of the faction, made towards the King, with the best speed for mercy, but could not breake out, being hurried along the storme of the giddy multitude.

Publick motions depends on the conduct of Fortune; private on our owne carriage; we must be ware of running downe steep hills with weighty bodies, they once in motion, *Suo feruntur pondere* stops are not then voluntary; be *Leycester* at that instant with the King, and out of the storme might have escaped, if his courage and hope had not made him more resolute by misfortune, so that hee could neither forsake his followers, nor his ambition; thus making adversity the exercise of his vertue, he came and fell.

The King by the blessed Fortune freed, and obeyed, beganne to search the ground of his former miserie

misery, and why that Vertue and Fortune that had so long settled and maintained under his Ancestors the glory of his Empire, had cast her in his time off, and conspired with her Enemies, to her almost ruine, as if the *Genius* of the state had quite forsooke her; Here hee finds his wastfull hand had beene too quick, both over the fortunes and the blessings of his People, the griping Avarice of his Civill Ministers and lawlesse liberty of his Martiall followers, the neglect of grace, and breach of his word, to have lost his Nobility at home, and necessity, his Reputation abroad, by making Merchandize of peace, and warre, as his last refuge, so leaving his old Allies became enforced to betake himselfe to persons doubtfull, or injured, and that by giving over himselfe to a sensuall security and referring all to base greedy and unworthy Ministers, whose Councils were ever more subtle then substantiall, hee had throwne downe those pillars

*Rot. part.
53. H. 3.
M. 51.
Rishanger.*

pillars of soveraignery, and safety, Reputation abroad, and Reverence at home.

*Jo. Tuxeter, Mon.
Bury.*

Hee now therefore making sweetnesse and clemency the entrances of his regained Rule for the faults of most of the late Rebels hee forgot, a gracious kind of pardoning, not to take knowledge of offences, others hee forgot, that they might live but to the glory of his goodnesse, for the fewer killed, the more remains to adorne the Trophee.

*Rot. Cart.
91. 52.
Hen. 3.*

Tyrants shed blood for pleasure, Kings for necessity, yet least his Justice and power might too much suffer in his grace and mercy, some few hee punished by small fines, some by banishment, as the two guiltlesse, yet unpitied Sonnes of the Arch-traitour. Treason so hatefull is to the head, that it draweth (wee see in this) the carriage of the innocent children into an everlasting suspect, and what is suspicion in others is guilt in them. Upon the constant followers of his broken fortunes hee bestowed, but
with

*Claus. 52.
H. 3. M.
29.*

with a more wary hand then before
the forfeiture of his enervies Immo-
derate liberality hee had found but a
weake meane to winne love, for it
lost more in the gathering then it gai-
ned in the giving. This bounty be-
stowed without respect, was taken
without grace, discredited the recei-
ver and detracteth from the judge-
ment of the giver, and blunted the
appetites of such, as carried their
hopes out of vertue and service. Thus
at last, hee learned that reward and
reprehension justly laid, doe ballance
Government, and that it much im-
porteth a Prince, the hand to bee e-
quall that holdeth the scale.

In himselfe, hee reformed his na-
turall errours, Princes manners,
though a mute Law have more of
life and vigour then those of letters,
and though hee did sometimes touch
upon the verge of vice, hee forbore
ever after to enter the circle.

This court wherein at this time, the
faults of great men did not onely by
approbation, but Imitation receive
true

*Chron.
Dunst.*

true comfort, and authority; for their crimes now became examples, and customs, hee purged very judiciously and severely, since from thence proceeds either the regular or irregular condition of the Common State.

Ordinat.
author.
Reg. aule.
Glaus. 53.
Hen. 3.
Risharger.

Expence of house hee measureth by the just Rule of his proper revenue, and was heard often to say, that his excesse of wast before had beene an issue of his Subjects bloud, the insolency of his Souldiers made lawlesse by the late liberties of Civill armes, hee spendeth in forraigne expedition. Having seene that the quiet Spirits underwent all the former Calamities, and the other never were satisfied but in the misery of Innocents, and would, if they had no enemies abroad seeke out at home, as they had done before.

Pat. 53.
54.
Hen. 3.
Comment.
de Trail.
Boston.

The rigour and corruption of his judiciall Officers hee examineth, and redresseth by strict Commission; For the sence of their severity, became a murmure of his owne cruelty.

The

The seats of Iudgement and Councell, hee filled up with men nobly borne. For such attract with lesse offence, the Generous spirits to respect and reverence. Their Abilities hee measureth not by favour, or by Private information, as before, but by publike voice, for every man in particular may deceive and bee deceived, but no man can deceive all, nor all one.

And to discover now his owne Capacity, and what part hee meaneth to beare hereafter in all deliberate Expeditions, hee sitteth himselfe in Councell dayly, and disposeth affaires of most weight in his owne person. For Councellours bee they never so wise or worthy, are but as accessories, not principals, in sustentation of the State; their Office must bee subjection, not fellowship, in considerations of moment, and to have ability to advise, not authority to resolve.

For as to live, the Prince must have a particular soule so to rule his proper

proper and interne Councell; without the one hee can never bee truly man without the other, hee shall never bee securely a Prince; for it offendeth as well the Minister of (merit) as the people to force obedience to one incapable of his owne greatnesse, or unworthy of his fortunes. This wonderfull change to the generall State (so hopelesse lately to recover his former liberty, they sought now for nothing but the mildest servitude) brought them home againe with admiration to his devotion and their owne duty.

Hee that will lay (wee see) the foundation of greatnesse upon popular love, must give them ease and justice, for they measure the bond of their obedience, by the good alwayes that they receive.

This peace attended ever after his age and hearle, and hee happily lived to fashion his Sonne and Successour, and to make him Partner of his owne experience and authority, whose owne hard education training him

Barth. Co-
tan.
Chron.
Normic.

him from that intemperance, which makes men inferiour to beasts: framed him to affect glory, and vertue; which made him superiour to men. So that all the Actions of his future Raigne were exact grounds of Discipline, and Policy; for his best successour to rule by after, who as hee was the first of his name since the Conquest, so was hee the first that tested the Law and State, deserving the Title of *Englands Iustinian*, and freed this Kingdome from the wardship of the Peeres, shewing himselfe in all his Actions after, capable to Command not the Realme onely, but the whole World.

Thus doe the wrongs of our Enemies more then our owne discretions, make us sometimes both wise and fortunate.

FINIS.

C

THE

[illegible]

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE AND RAIGNE
OF
HENRY
THE FOURTH.
King of *England.*

Written by
Sr. JOHN HAYVWARD,
Knight, and Doctor of Law.



*London, Printed for William Sheares, and
are to bee sold at his Shop in Bedford-Street,
in Covengarden neere the new Ex-
change, at the signe of the
Bible, An. 1642.*

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Written by
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London, Printed for William Stansfeld, and
sold by the Stationers in London, in
the Strand, near the Temple, in
the year 1744.

Illustrissimo & Honoratissimo
ROBERTO
Comiti Essexiae &

Ewe, Comiti Mariscallo
Angliae, Vicecomiti Herefordiae, &
Bourchier: Baroni Ferrariis de Char-
ley, Domino Bourchier & Loven: Regis Ma-
jestatis Hippocoma: Machinarum bellicarum
praefecto: Academiae Cantabrigiae Cancell-
lario: Ordinis Georgiani Equiti aurato: Se-
renissimae Domini Reginae a sanctio-
nibus Consiliis: Domino meo
plurimum observando.

A Pico, nat. ynnatodto: Optimo &
Nobilissimo: inquit Euripides)
ex qua sententia tu primus ac solus
fere occurrebas (illustrissima comes)

The Epistle.

cujus nomen si Henrici nostri fronti radiaret, ipse & letior & iustior in vulgus prodiret. Magnus siquidem es, & presenti iudicio, & futuri temporis expectatione: in quo, veluti recuperasse nunc oculos, ceca prius fortuna videri potest; Dum cumulare honoribus eum gisti, qui omnibus virtutibus est insignitus. Hunc igitur si lata fronte excipere digneris, sub nominis tui umbra (tanquam sub Ajacis clipeo Teucer ille Homericus) tutissime latebit. Deus opt. max. celsitudinem tuam nobis, rei que publica diu seruet incolumen: quo nos vix, tam fide quam armis potenti tua dextra defensi, ultique, diutina cum securitate tum gloria perfruemur.

Honori tuo deditissimus.

I. HAYWARD.

A. P. To the Reader.



Mong all sorts of humane Writers, there is none that have done more profit, or deserved greater praise, then they who have committed to faithfull records of Histories, either the Government of mighty States, or the lives and acts of famous men: for by describing the order and passages of these two, and what events hath followed, what counsailes they have set forth unto us, not onely precepts, but lively paterneſ, both for private dire-

Cutions and for affaires of State: whereby in short time young-men may be instructed, and old men more fully furnished with experience then the longest age of man can afford. And therefore Cicero reporteth that *L. Lucullus*, when hee went from *Rome* to make warre against *Mithridates*, was altogether unskillfull in Military services: yet in the time of his Navigation hee so exercised himselfe, what with conference, and what with reading of Histories, that when hee came into *Asia*, by the judgement and confession of that great King, hee was preferred before all the Commanders that were before him. Hereupon when *Alexander Severus* did deliberate of any weighty matter, hee would especially take advise of men skillfull in

in Histories, and not without good cause: for if (as *Africanus* saith) experience hath begot wisdom, and memory as a Mother hath brought it forth; who are to bee better accompted then they whose memory is as it were a rich store house, of these periences not of one age or Countrey, but of all times and of all Nations. And therefore it is no great marvaile that *Zenobia*, who after the death of her Husband *Odenatus* tooke upon her the State, not onely insulted upon the *Romaines*, but held th *Arabians*, the *Sarizens*, the *Armenians*, and other fierce and intractible people, in such obedience, that although shee were both a woman and a *Barbarian*, yet they never stirred against her: for shee had perfectly read the *Romaine* History in

Greeke, and also had her selfe
abridged the *Alexandrian* and all
the *Oriental* Histories, whereby
shee attained the highest pitch
both of wisdom and authority:
for examples are of greater force
to stirre unto vertue, then bare
precepts, insomuch as *Cicero* said,
that nothing could bee taught
well without example. There-
fore the *Lacedemonians* (as *Plu-
tarch* writeth) did use upon festi-
vall dayes to present unto their
Sonnnes certaine drunken slaves
whom they called *εἰλητας*: that by
view of the vice, they might
learne to avoid it; and *Hismenias*
the *Thebane*, would shew to his
Schollers, musitians of all sorts
good and bad, instructing them
to follow the one and not the o-
ther. And this is that which the
Apology telleth of a certaine
Coun-

Countrey-woman, who being hard favoured, and fearing least shee should bring forth children like her selfe, got many faire and beautifull pictures, which shee did dayly and stedfastly behold: the meaning whereof is, that by setting before us the acts and lives of excellent men, it is the readiest way to fashion our qualities according to the same.

Hereupon *Cicero* doth rightly call History the witnesse of times, the light of truth, the life of memory, and the messenger of antiquity. Herby wee are armed against all the rage and rashnesse of Fortune: and herby wee may seeme (in regard of the knowledge of things) to have travelled in all Countries, to have lived in all ages, and to have beene conversant in all affaires. Neither

is that the least benefit of History, that it preserveth eternally, both the glory of good men, and shame of evill. Some Philosophers doe deny, that glory is to bee desired: for vertue (say they) is a reward unto it selfe, and must not bee respected for the vaine and titular blastes of glory: yet in writing these things, they affect that especially, which they especially deprave. And indeed there is no man hath so horny hart strings, (as *Persius* speaketh) who is not tickled with some pleasure of praise, againe there is no man of so flinty a forehead, who is not touched with some feare of infamy and shame. Doe wee thinke that the valiant soldier thinketh no toile too rough, but boldly adventureth the hazard of all happes, because hee is weary

weary of his life? death cometh
by nature to all men alike; onely
with difference of memory with
posterity.

And I would thinke that Ci-
ties at the first were builded,
Lawes made, and many things
invented for the use of men,
chiefly for desire of glory: which
humour except the old Gover-
nours of Common-wealths, had
thought necessary, they would
never have fostered it as they did,
with Garlandes, Statutes, Tro-
phies and Triumphes, in which
notwithstanding it is but tempo-
rary and short; but in Histories
of worth it is onely perpetual.
This *Cicero* perceiving hee dealt
with *Lucius* to commit his acti-
ons to the monuments of his wri-
tings: and *Plinius* the younger did
with that hee might bee mentio-

ned

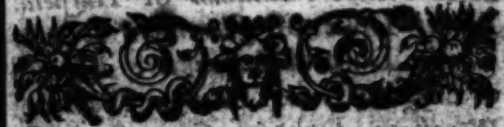
ned in the Histories of *Cornelius Tacitus*, because hee did foresee that they should never decay.

But these are such as are melted away with a lust, either to flatter or to deface, whereby the credite of History is quite overthrowne. Yet the endeavour to curry favour, is more easily disliked, as bearing with it an open note of servility, and therefore, *Alexander* when hee heard *Aristobulus* read many things that hee had written of him farre above truth, as hee was sailing the floud *Hidaspiis*, he threw the book into the River, and said, that hee was almost moved to send *Aristobulus* after for his servile dealing, but envious carping carrieth a counterfeit shew of liberty, and thereby findeth the better acceptance.

And since I am entred into this point, it may seeme not impertinent to write of the stile of a History, what beginning, what continuance, and what meane is bee used in all matter, what things are to bee suppressed, what lightly touched, and what to bee treated at large; how credite may bee wonne, and suspition avoided: what is to bee observed in the order of times, and description of places, and other such circumstances of weight; what liberty a writer may use in framing speeches, and in declaring the causes, counsailes, and events of things done: how farre hee must bend himselfe to profit: and when and how hee may play upon pleasure, but this were too large a field to enter into: therefore least I should runne into the fault of the

the *Indians*, who made their
 gates wider then their towne,
 will heere close up, onely wish-
 ing that all our *English* Histories
 were drawne out of the drosse of
 rude and barbarous *English*: that
 by pleasure in reading them, the
 profit in knowing them,
 might more easily bee
 attained.

THE



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE AND RAIGNE
OF KING
HENRY
the fourth.

His Noble and victorious
Prince, King *Edward* the
third, had his fortunate
gift of a long and prospe-
rous raigne over this Realme of *Eng-
land*, much strengthened and adorned,
by natures supply of seven goodly
Sonne. *Edward* his eldest Sonne,
Prince of *Wales*, commonly called the
Black

Black Prince : *William* of Hatfield :
Lyonel Duke of *Clarence* : *John* of
Gaunt, Duke of *Lancaster* : *Edmund*
of *Langley*, Duke of *Torke* : *Thomas* of
Woodstock, Duke of *Gloucester* : and
William of *Windsore*. These Sonnes,
during the life of their renowned Fa-
ther, were such ornaments and such
stayes to his estate, as it seemed, no
greater could bee annexed thereunto.
For neither armies, nor strong holds
are so great defences to a Prince, as the
multitude of children : Fortes may de-
cay, and forces decrease, and both de-
cline and fall away, either by variety
of fortune, or inconstancy of mens
desires ; but a mans owne blood clea-
veth close unto him ; not so much in
the blisses of prosperity, which are e-
qually imparted to others, as in the
Crosses of calamity, which touch none
so neere, as those that are neerest by
nature. But in succeeding times, they
became in their off-spring, the semi-
nary of division and discord, to the
utter ruine of their families, and great
wast and weakening of the whole
Realme.

Realme: for they that have equall dignity of birth and blood, can hardly stoop to termes of sovereignty, but upon every offer of occasion will aspire to endure, rather no equall then any superiour, and for the most part, the hatred of those that are nearest in kind, is most dispitfull and deadly if it once breake forth. The feare of this humour caused *Romulus*, to imbrow the foundations of the City and Empire of *Rome*, with the blood of his brother *Remus*. According to which example, the Tyrants of *Turkie*, those butchers of Sathan, doe commonly at this day begin their raigne, with the death and slaughter of all their brethren.

Prince *Edward* the thunderbolt of Warre in his time, dyed during the life of his father. And although, hee was cut off in the middle course, and principall strength of his age, yet in respect of honour and fame, hee lived with the longest, having in all parts fulfilled the measure of true Nobility. Hee left behind him a young Sonne called

called *Richard*, who after the death of *King Edward*, was crowned King in his stead, and after ward dyed childlesse.

William of Hatfield King Edwards second Sonne, dyed also without issue, leaving no other memory of his name, but the mention onely.

Lionel Duke of Clarence, the third Sonne of *King Edward*, was a man of comely personage, of speech and pace stately, in other qualities of a middle temperature, neither too be admitted nor contemned, as rather void of ill parts, then furnished with good. Hee had issue *Philip* his onely Daughter, who was Joynd in marriage to *Edmund Mortimer*, Earle of *March*: Who in the Parliament holden in the eight yeare of the raigne of *King Richard*, was in the right of his Wife, declared Heire apparant to the Crowne, in case the King should die without Children; but not many yeares after hee dyed, leaving issue by the said *Philip*, *Roger Mortimer* Earle of *March*. This *Roger* was slaine in the rude and tumult-

tumultuous Warres of Ireland, and
had issue *Edmund*, *Anne*, and *Elinor*,
Edmund and *Elinor* died without
issue. *Anne* was married to *Richard*
Earle of *Cambridge*, Sonne to *Edmund*
of *Langley* Duke of *Yorke*, the first
Sonne of King *Edward*. Of these two
came *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of
Yorke: who by the right devolved to
him from his Mother, made open
claime to the Crowne of *England*,
(which was then possessed by the fa-
mily of *Lancaster*) first by Law, in the
Parliament holden the thirtieth yeare
of the Raigne of King *Henry* the sixth;
where either by right or by favour,
his cause had such furtherance, that af-
ter King *Henry* should die, the Crown
was entailed to him, and to the Heires
of his blood for ever. But the Duke
impatient to linger in hope, chose ra-
ther to endure any danger, then such
delay: Whereupon hee entered into
armes soone after, against King *Henry*
in the field. But being carried further
by courage, then by force, hee could
beare through, hee was slaine at the
battaile

battaile of *Wakefield*, and left his title to *Edward* his eldest Sonne: who with invincible perſiſtance did proſecute the enterpriſe, and after great variety of fortune at the laſt atchieved it.

John of *Gauſt* Duke of *Lancaſter*, the fourth Sonne of King *Edward* the third, was a man of high and hardy Spirit, but his fortune was many times not anſwerable, either to his force or to his forecaſt. Hee had two Sonnes *Henry* Earle of *Derby* (of whom I ſuppoſe chiefly to treat) and *John* Earle of *Somerſet*. This *John* was Father to *John* Duke of *Somerſet*, who had iſſue *Margaret*, Counteſſe of *Richmond* mother to the Noble Prince, *Henry* the ſeventh.

Henry Plantagenet Earle of *Derby*, was likewiſe by his Mother *Blanch*, extracted from the bloud of Kings, being diſcended from *Edmund*, the ſecond Sonne of King *Henry* the third: by which line, the Dutchy of *Lancaſter* did accreue unto his houſe. Hee was a man of meane ſtature, well proportioned, and formally compact,

part, of good strength and agility of body, skillfull in armes, and of a ready dispatch: joyntly shewing himselfe both earnest and advised in all his actions. Hee was quick and present in conceit, forward in attempt, couragions in execution, and most times fortunate in event. There was no great place of imployment and charge, which hee would not rather affect for glory, then refuse either for perill, or for paines; and in service hee often proved himselfe not onely a skilfull Commander by giving directions: but also a good Souldier in using his weapon, adventuring further in person sometimes, then policy would permit; his expences were liberall and honourable, yet not exceeding the measure of his receipts; hee was very courteous and familiar respectively towards all men, whereby hee procured great reputation and regard, especially with those of the meaner sort: for high humilities take such deepe roots in the mindes of the multitude, that they are more strongly

strongly drawne by unprofitable
 toyes then by churlish benefits, In
 the changes of his estate, hee was
 most one and the same man: in ad-
 versity never daunted, in prosperity ne-
 ver secure: retaining still his Majesty
 the one, and his mildnesse in the other
 neither did the continuance of his
 raigne bring him to a proud port
 stately esteeming of himselfe, but
 his latter yeares hee remained so ge-
 ntle and faire in carriage, that there
 chiefly hee did weare out the hate
 that was borne him, for the death
 of King Richard. Hee could not lightly
 bee drawne into any cause, and was
 stiffe and constant in a good: Yet
 more easie to bee either corrupted
 abused by flattering speeches, then
 hee terrified by threats. To some
 men hee seemed too greedy of glory
 making small difference of the means
 whereby hee attained it: and indeed
 this honour in noble minds is not
 hardly over-ruled: and oftentimes
 draweth even the wisest away. But
 before I proceed any further in describ-
 ing

being either the qualities, or acts of
this Earle, I must write something
of the Raighe of King Richard the
second, his Count German: so late
forth as the times of the one, were
either causes or furtherances of the
fortunes of the other.

Richard Sonne to Edward Prince
of Wales, a little before deceased, was
after the death of King Edward the
third, crowned King over this
Reame of England, in the eleventh
yeare of his age: at which yeares the
mind of man is like to the potters
earth, apt to be wrought into any
fashion, and which way soever it
hardeneth by custome, it will loone
breake then bend from the same.
Now the governance of the King
at the first was committed to cer-
taine Bishops, Barles, Barons, and
Iudges. But either upon necessities
to discontent the King, or negligence
to discharge their duty, every one
was more ready with pleasant con-
sents to delight him, then with pro-
fitable counsaile to doe him good.

D

for

For smooth and pleasing speeches need small endeavour, and alwayes findeth favour: whereas to advise that which is meet, is a point of some paines, and many times a thanklesse office. Hereupon two dangerous evils did ensue; flattery brak in, and private respects did passe under publike pretences.

In the third yeare of his Raigne, it was thought meete that this charge should bee committed to one man, to avoid thereby the unnecessary wast of the Treasure of the Realme, by allowing yearly stipend unto many. So by the whole consent of the Nobility and Commons assembled together in Parliament, this office was deputed to Lord *Thomas Beauchampe* Earle of *Warwick*, and a competent pension was assigned him, out of the Kings Exchequer for his paines. But the King being now plunged in pleasure, did immoderately bend himselfe to the favouring and advancing of certaine persons, which were both reproveable

ble in life, and generally abhorred
in all the Realme, and this was the
cause of two great inconveniences:
for many young Noble-men and
brave Courtiers, having a nimble
eye to the secret favours and dislikes
of the King, gave over themselves
to a dissolute and dishonest life,
which findeth some followers when
it findeth no fartherancers, much
more when it doth flourish and
thrive: the King also by favouring
these, was himselfe little favoured
and loved of many: for it is often-
times as dangerous to a Prince, to
have evill and odious adherents, as
to bee evill and odious himselfe.
The names of these men were *Alexander Nevill*, Archbishop of *Yorke*,
Robert Keere, Earle of *Oxford*: *Michael Delapoule* afterwards Earle of
Suffolke: *Robert Trisilian*, Lord
chiefe Iustice, *Nicholas Brambr*,
Alderman of *London*; and certaine o-
thers of no eminency, either by birth
or desert, but obsequious and pliable
to the Kings youthfull humours.

These were highly in credit with the King: these were alwayes next unto him, both in company and counsell: by these hee ordered his private actions: by these hee managed his affaires of state; hee spared neither the dignity nor death of any man, whose authority and life withstood their preferment. In so much as in the fifth yeare of his raigne, hee removed Sir *Richard Scrope* from being Lord Chancellour of *England* (to which office hee was by authority of Parliament appointed,) because hee refused to let the great Seale, to the grant of certaine Lands, which had wantonly passed from the King, alleging for his deniall, the great debts of the King, and small demerites of the parties, upon whom the King might cast away and consume, but spend in good order hee could not; advertising him also to have respect, that riote did not deceive him under the terms and shew of liberality: and that gifts well ordered procure not so much love,

as placed without discretion, they
stirre envy. This Chancelour was
a man of notable integrity and dili-
gence in his office, not scornfully
turning away from the ragged coat
of a poore suppliant, or pale face of
a sickly and feeble limmed suter,
holding up their simple soiled bills
of complaint, nor yet smothering
his conscience with partiall main-
taining of such as were mighty:
but being alike to all, hee was soon
disliked of those that were bad.

In the eight yeare of this Kings
raigne, the destruction of the Duke
of Lancaster was intended likewise
upon the like dislike: the plot was
laied by Iustice Trisilian, offences were
devised, Appellours appointed, and
Peeres named, hee should have beene
put under arrest suddenly, and forth-
with arraigned, condemned, and exe-
cuted. But the Duke upon privy
intelligences of these contrivances,
fled to his Castle at Pontefract, and
there made preparation for his de-
fence against the King. So this mat-

ter beganne to grow to a head of division, which the Common people at that time very busily, desired and sought: but the Kings Mother travelling incessantly betweene the King and the Duke; (notwithstanding shee was both corpulent and in yeares) laboured them both to a reconcilment: the King, with regard of the dangerous and discontented times: the Duke, with respect of his duty and faith: and so partly by her entreaty and advise, partly by their inclination bending to the safest course, all apparancy of displeasure on the one part, and distrust on the other, was for that time layed aside.

The same yeare, *Michael De-la-poule* was made Chancellour of England; and created Earle of *Suffolke*: and *Robert Kere* Earle of *Oxford*, was created Marquesse of *Dublin*, being the first man within the Realme that was enobled with that title. But as they grew in honour, so did they in hate: for many Noble-
men

men did infinitely stomach their undeserved advancements, and with these the favour of the People generally went: but the Kings intemperate affection was peremptory and violent, not regarding envy untill hee could not resist it.

The yeare next following, *Robert* *Peere* the new Marquesse, was created Duke of *Ireland*. This yeare, the Knights and Burgeses of Parliament, put up many complaints against the Earle of *Suffolke*, upon which they desired his answers and triall: namely, how hee had abused the King in taking of him to farme all the profits and revenues of the Crowne: how wantonly hee wasted the treasure of the land in riotous liberality, and unnecessary charges: how deepe hee had dived into the Kings debt: how careless and corrupt hee was in his office: how greatly hee had both deceived and discredited the King in certaine dealings and accounts particularly expressed: with divers other imputations

D 4

touch-

touching dishonour and dishonesty,
both in private action and in office.
This Earle was a Merchants Sonne
in London, and growing mighty on
the sudden, hee could not governe
himselfe in the change: but prosper-
ity layed open the secret faults of
his mind, which were suppressed
and cloaked before: and leaving a
weake Ruler in great place, with
an ill mind, hee made open sale of
his Princes honour. Yet the King
was willing either secretly to dis-
semble, or openly to remit these
offences: and so passed them over
with a short audience (as his manner
was in matters of greatest weight)
and without examination, shewing
himselfe neither grieved at the
faults, nor well pleased with the
complaint. Afterwards a Subsidy
was required: but answer was made
that this needed not, since the Kings
wants might bee furnished with
the debts which were owing him
from his Chancelour: neither was
it to any purpose, so long as the mo-
ney

ney should bee ordered by such persons as before it had bene, and that that time was like. Then were the matters against the Lord Chancelour againe set on foote, and the King perswaded that it was neither honorable nor safe to beare him out; that to private men it was sufficient if themselves abstaine from wrong, but a Prince must provide that none doe wrong under him: for by maintaining, or wincking at the vices of his Officers, hee maketh them in his owne, and shall surely bee charged therewith when first occasion doth serve against him. At the last, upon instant importunity of both Houses, the King did consent, that a commission should goe forth to certaine Noble men, giving them authority to heare and determine all matters which were objected against the Lord Chancellour: and then was a Subsidie granted, with exception, that the money should bee expended by the Lords, to the benefit and behalfe of the Realme. The King did

farther demand, that the Heires of *Charles Blois*; who made claime to the *Dutchy of Britaine*, should bee sold to the *French-men* for thirty thousand markes: and the money granted to the *Duke of Ireland*, for recovery of those possessions which the King had given him in *Ireland*: this was likewise assented unto, upon condition, that before Easter the next ensuing, the Duke should depart into *Ireland*, and there remaine: at so high a price did they value the rid-dance of him out of the Realme.

The charge of the Subsidie money was committed to *Richard Earle of Arundell*. Commissioners for the Earle of *Suffolke* were appointed, *Thomas Duke of Gloucester* the Kings Vncle, and the said Earle of *Arundell*: but during the time of their proceeding, the King kept all off, in places farre distant: either to manifest thereby the discent of his mind, or to avoid the griefe which his neerenesse would increase: And now was the Chancellour left unto himselfe,

selfe, to answer to those demea-
 nours, wherein hee made the Kings
 blind favour his priviledge and pro-
 tection, supposing never to see the
 same either altered or over-ruled.
 In the end, being convict of many
 crimes and abuses, hee was deposed
 from his office, his goods were con-
 fiscated to the Kings Exchequer, and
 himselfe was adjudged worthy of
 death: Yet was execution submitted
 to the Kings pleasure, and under
 sureties hee was permitted to goe
 at large. At the same time, *John*
Foordes Bishop of *Duresme*, another
 of the Kings dainties, was removed
 also from being Lord Treasurer of
England, hee was a man of little
 depth, either in learning or wise-
 dome, but one that had the Art of
 seeming, in making the best shew
 of whatsoever hee spake or did: and
 rising from meane estate to so high
 a pitch of honour, hee exercised the
 more excessively his riot, avarice,
 and ambition, not able to moderate
 the lusts and desires which former
 want had kindled: . . . When

When this businesse was blowne
over, the King returned againe to
London and did presently receive the
Earle of *Suffolke*, with the Duke of
Bedford, and the Archbishop of *Torke*,
to greater grace and familiarity then
at any time before. These *Triumvirs*
did not cease to stirre up the Kings
stomack against those Noblemen,
whose speciall excellency had made
matter of fame and regard: partly
for the disgraces which they had
received, partly upon malicious c-
mulation, to see the other so favou-
red, and themselves so odious, and
that their private choller and am-
bition might beare some shew of
publike respect, they suggested unto
the King, that hee was but halfe, yea
not halfe a King in his owne
Realme, but rather the shadow and
picture of a King: for if wee respect
(said they) matters of state, you
beare the sword, but they sway it,
you have the shew, but they the au-
thority of a Prince, using your name
as a colour and countenance to their

proceeding, and your person as a cipher, to make them great, and bee your selfe nothing. Look also the duty of your Subjects, and it is at their devotion: so that you can neither command, nor demand any thing, but with such exceptions and limitations as they please to impose: come now to your private actions, your liberality (the greatest virtue in a Prince) is restrained, your expences measured, and your affections confined, to frowne and favour as they doe prescribe. What Ward is so much under government of his Gardian? Wherein will they now, or can they more abridge you? Except they should take from you the place, as they have done the power of a Prince: and in this wee thinke, they may justly bee feared, having so great might joyned with so great aspiring minds. For power is never safe when it doth exceed: and ambition is like the Crocodile which groweth so long as bee lieth: or like the Iye, which fastning on the

foote of the tallest Tower, by small, yet continuall rising, at length will climbe above the top, it is already growne from a sparke to a flame, from a twig to a tree, and high time it is, that the increase were stayed: oftentimes such over-ruling of Princes have proceeded to their overthrowing, and such cutting them short hath turned to cutting them off, their minds are suspicious, their power dangerous, and therefore the opportunity must bee prevented.

The Kings owne weakenesse made him apprehensive, and framed his mind to a vaine and needlesse feare: but chiefly hee was moved at the removing of his Chancellour and Treasurer out of their offices, and of the Duke of Ireland out of the Realme, supposing it a restraint to his Princely power, that hee might not absolutely and in things give or forgive as his pleasure served: When these privy incensers perceived the Kings humour once
sharp-

sharped, they so plied him with plausible persuasions, that (although hee was naturally of no cruell disposition, as wanting courage) yet they drew him to many violent and indirect courses, partly upon negligence to search out the truth, partly upon delight to bee flattered and smoothly used; neither did they long deferre their devises: and first it was appointed, that the Duke of Gloucester, and certaine others of that part, should bee invited to a supper within London, and there suddainly surpris'd and made away. Sir Nicholas Brumby, who the yeare before had bene Major of London, and in whom abundance of wealth supplied the want of honest qualities, was a busie agent in this butcherly businesse: but Richard Euxton the Major of the City, that yeare, discovered the practise by whom the Duke was warned both to avoid the present perill, and afterwards to bee wary of the like.

The yeare next following, Richard
Earle

Earle of Arundel, and Thomas Mordaunt
 Earle of Nottingham, had the
 conduct of a Navy committed to
 their charge: in this voyage they
 took above a hundred saile of the
 enemies ships, fraughted with
 wines, and well appointed for fight:
 they also relieved and fortified
 Brest, and took two forces which
 the French-men had raised against
 it. The Earles so behaved them-
 selves in this service, that they grew
 to a very great estimation, both for
 courtesie among their Souldiers, and
 for courage against their enemies:
 and their actions were the more
 famous, by reason of the infortunate
 insufficiency of other Commanders,
 by whose either rashnesse or
 cowardise, many good Souldiers
 were dayly defeated, and every
 yeare made notorious, by one losse
 or other. Yet notwithstanding all
 their good labour and luck, they
 were at their returne, entertained
 by the King, with great strangenes,
 both of countenance and speech.

Who

Who was so unable to dissemble his dispaire, that hee could hardly deferre it, untill the heat of the honour and love which they had wonne, were somewhat abated. So much are men more inclinable to revenge displeasure, then reward desert: for it is troublesome to bee gratefull, and many times chargeable: but revenge is pleasant, and preferred before gaine.

About the same time, *Robert Duke of Ireland* forsooke the company of his lawfull wife, whose Mother *Lady Isabel*, was Daughter to King *Edward the third*, and instead of her, hee tooke unto him a base *Bohemian*, a Taverners Daughter. The King little regarded this indignity done unto his Cofin, and in so great confusion of the state, let it passe unreprieved, as overshadowed with greater vices: but the Duke of *Glocester* her Vnkle, took it in high disdain, as injurious to the Royall blood, and did attend upon occasion to worke revenge, this was not se-

cret

cret from the Duke of *Ireland*, who likewise bent all his deviles to bring the Duke of *Glocester* to his overthrow. The Duke of *Glocester* did prosecute his enmity openly and manlike: the Duke of *Ireland* closely, and therefore the more dangerously. The Duke of *Glocester* was greater in blood, the Duke of *Ireland* in favour, hee being Vncle to the King, this bearing himselfe as the Kings fellow. The Duke of *Glocester* pretended for the State, the Duke of *Ireland* for the King: and much private malice did passe under these publike shewes: but in opposition of such equall powers, there is many times small difference in harme.

And now was Easter past, the Termes assigned to Duke Robert ~~there~~ for his departure into *Ireland*: and least his stay might breed some stirre within the Realme, hee still busied himselfe in preparation for his journey, and at last (although it were long) made a solemne shew of setting forth. The King went in
great

great state to accompany him to his shipping; and the Earle of Suffolke with Iustice Trislaus, and the residue of that faction, either for favour followed, for or feare durst not stay behind. So they passed together into *Wales*, and (whether upon levity the Kings mind changed; or whether it was so contrived at the first to draw themselves more separate from the Lords,) there the Dukes journey was at an end. Then they entred into Counsell which way the Lords might best bee suppressed: many devises were deeply debated, all pleased without respect either of danger or disgrace: but few stood with likelihood of event to their desires, and therefore none was finally concluded. After long time thus frivolously spent, they left *Wales*, and came to the Castle of *Nottingham*, where the King caused the high Sheriffes of all the Shires in the Realme to bee called before him, and demanded of them, what strength they could make on his part against the

the Lords, if need should require: their answer was, that the Common people did so favour the Lords, and were so well resolved of their love and loyalty towards the King, that it was not in their power to raise any great power against them. Then they were commanded that no Knights nor Burgeses should afterwards bee chosen to any Parliament, but those whom it pleased the King to appoint: whereto they said that it was a hard matter in those times of jealousie and suspicion, to bereave the people of their ancient liberty, in choosing Knights and Burgeses for the Parliament, some few other matters being either unreasonably required, or obtained to small end, the Sheriffes were licensed to depart. Then were assembled *Robert Trifilian*, chiefe Iustice of the Kings Bench, *Robert Belknappe*, chiefe Iustice of the Common Pleas, *John Holte*, *Roger Sudbrope*, *William Burgh*, Knights and Iustices also of the Common Pleas, men learned in
one

one rule chiefly, without difference
of truth or falshood, to please those
in highest places, intituling that
wisdom, which indeed was but
basenesse and feeblenesse of mind:
these were charged by the King
upon their faith and loyance, to
make true and full answers to those
questions following.

1. Item, Whether the Statutes, Or-
dinances, Lawes, Commissions made
for the last Parliament, (where-
by was meant the commission against
Michael De la poole Duke of Sul-
folke) did derogate from the Royall pro-
rogation of the King's grace.
2. Item, They have procured the said
Statutes &c. to be made and set forth,
how are they to be punished?
3. Item, How are they to be pun-
ished who provoked the King to send
to the said Statutes &c. to be made and set forth?
4. Item, What punishment have
they deserved who compelled the King
to consent to the said Statutes &c.
5. Item, How are they to be punished,
who

who resisted or letted the King in exercising his Royall power, by remitting any penalties or debts whatsoever.

6 Item, When a Parliament is assembled, and the affaires of the Realme, and the cause of assembling the Parliament, by the Kings commandement declared, and common Articles limited by the King, upon which, the Lords and Commons in the said Parliament should proceede, if the Lords and Commons will proceed upon other Articles, and not upon the Articles limited by the King, untill the King hath first given answer to the Articles propounded by them, notwithstanding that the contrary were enjoined by the King, whether in this case the King ought to have the rule of the Parliament, and so to order the fact, that the Lords and Commons should first proceed upon the Articles limited by the King, or that they should first have answer of the King, upon the Articles propounded by them, before they proceed any further.

odur

7 Item,

7 Item, Whether may the King when he please dissolve the Parliament, and command the Lords and Commons to depart or no?

8 Item, Since the King may at his pleasure remove any of his Officers and Justices, and punish them for their offences: whether may the Lords and Commons without the Kings will, accuse his Officers and Justices in Parliament for their offences, yea or no?

9 Item, What punishment have they deserved, who moved in Parliament, that the Statute whereby King Edward Carnarvan was deposed should be brought forth by virtue whereof, the new statute ordinance and commission aforesaid were framed?

10 Item, Whether the judgement given in the last Parliament holden at Westminster, against Michael de la-poolle Duke of Suffolke, was erroneous and revocable, yea or no?

These questions, or rather quarrels were drawn by John Blake a Coun-

Counsellors at the Law: by direction of Iustice Tristram, whilst the King made his stay in Wales: to the which the Iustices afore-named, some in discharge of their owne office, and some to satisfy the mind of other, made answer as followeth.

To the first, that they did derogate from the Prerogative of the Kings, because they were against his will.

To the second and third: that they are to bee punished by death, except it please the King to pardon them.

To the fourth and fifth: that they are worthy to bee punished as Traytors.

To the sixth: that whosoever resisteth the Kings rule in that point, deserveth to bee punished as Traytor.

To the seventh, that the King may at his pleasure dissolve the Parliament, and whosoever shall afterwards proceed against the Kings mind,

mind, as in a Parliament, hee is worthy to be punished as a Traytour.

To the eighth, that they cannot, and whosoever doth the contrary hee deserveth to be punished as a Traytour.

To the ninth, that as well the Motioner, as also the Bringer of the said statute to the Parliament, are worthy to be punished as Traytours.

To the tenth, they answered that the said judgement seemed to them erroneous and revocable in every part.

In witnesse whereof, the Iustices aforesaid, with John Lockton, the Kings sergent at Law, have subscribed and set their seals to these presents, &c.

When these bloody sentences of death & treason, were under generall and large Termes thus fastened upon the Lords, the King supposed his attempts against them, whether by violence, or by colour of law sufficiently warranted: but his power both wayes, as it was terrible against weak resistance, so against such mighty defendants it was of small force to effect that which he so much affected. Yet he

E. first. 16. 15. 16.

did not omit his first indeavour: and first accounting the Lords as condemned persons, hee made division of their Lands and goods among those that hee favoured. Then hee waged Souldiers to bee in a readinesse for his assistance, and sent the Earle of *Northumberland* to arrest the Earle of *Arundel*, at his Castle in *Reygate*, where hee then lay. But the Earle of *Arundel*, either upon advertisement, or suspicion of the Kings mind, banded himselfe so strong, that when the Earle of *Northumberland* came unto him, hee dissembled his intent, and left his purpose unperformed. Thus were these proceedings of the King, as now in Councell, so afterwards in event, not much unlike that which the Fable telleth of a certaine hunter, who first sold the skinne of the beare, and then went about to take her: but when hee came within the forrest, either by unskillfulnesse or misadventure, hee not onely missed his pray, but fell himselfe into danger of the beast.

The

The Duke of Gloucester having secret intelligence of the Kings displeasure, and of his drift, sent the Bishop of London to perswade the King to entertaine a more favourable opinion of him: making saith to the Bishop, with a solemne oath, that hee never intended any thing to the prejudice of the King, either in person or state. The Bishop not unskilfull to joyne profitable perswasion, with honesty, declared to the King, that his displeasure against the Lords was not grounded upon just desert, but either upon false suggestions of their enemies, or erroneous mistaking of some of their actions: how desirous they were of his grace and favour: how faithfull and forward they promised to persist in all duefull service: how honourable this agreement would be to the King: how profitable to the Realme, and how dangerous to both, if these troubles might increase. The King seemed to give good care and credit to the Bishops speeches.

but *Michael Delapoole*, a turbulent man, and against quiet counsell obstinately contentious, standing then by the King, soone stiffened his mind against all impression of friendship. Hereupon contention did arise betweene the Bishop and the Earle, and brake forth violently into heat of words. The Earle applied to the Lords those objections wherewith great men are usually charged: sparing no spight of speech, and using all art to aggravate matters against them. The Bishop replied, that the Earle was thus fiercely bent, not upon his owne necessity, nor love to the King; but onely to satisfie his bloody and ambitious humour, wherein hee was so immoderate that rather then the Lords should not bee destroyed, hee would overwhelm them with the ruines of the State, for tumults might indeed bee raised by men of little courage; but must bee maintained with the hazard, and ended with the losse of the most valiant; that neither his
Coun-

Counsell in this matter was to bee followed, being the principall fire-brand of the disturbance, nor his complaints against any man to bee any thing regarded, being himselfe a condemned person, and one that held both his life and honour at the pleasure of the King. At these words the King was exceedingly wroth, and charged the Bishop with menacing and threats to avoid his presence. When the Duke of Gloucester had knowledge hereof, hee signified the danger to the Earles of Arundel, Warwick, and Derby, advising them to take armes, and unite themselves for their common defence: for in so doubtfull and suspected peace, open warre was the onely way of safety. These three Earles were the chiefest strength to the side, but the Duke bare the most stroke, because hee was most bold, and his greatnesse almost obscured the names of the rest. On the other side, the King thinking separate dealing the onely way to weaken a

confederacy, endeavoured to prevent the Lords in joyning of their forces, and to that end hee sent a strength of men with charge, either to set upon the Earle of *Arundel* where hee did lie: or to intercept him in his passage towards the Duke. But the Earle had travelled all the night before their coming, and so happily escaped to *Harlingy* park, where hee found the Duke, and the other Earles, with a sufficient company, as well to make attempt, as to stand upon resistance.

When the King heard hereof, hee was disturbed and distracted in mind, being now in choyse either to relent, or to resist, whereof hee much disdained the one, and distrusted the other. His followers also was divided in Counsell: some fretting at the disgrace, and some fainting at the danger. The Archbishop of *Yorke* perswaded the King, that occasion was now offered to shew himselfe a King indeed, if hee would muster a Royall army, and by maine might
beate

beate downe the boldnesse of this
presumption: *Nihil dictu facile*
said another: *This is more readily devi-*
sed then done: the army against us is
mighty, and the Commanders are
great men, both for courage and
skill, and greatly favoured of the
Common people: whereby that
which is accounted so ready pay,
may chance to prove a desperate
debt. Therefore it were better with
some yielding to enter into condi-
tions of quiet, then by standing upon
high points of honour to hazard
the issue of a battaile, wherein the
King cannot winne without his
weakening, nor loose without dan-
ger of his undoing. There was then
in presence, a certaine old Knight,
called Sir Hugh Linne, a good sol-
dier, but a very mad-cap, and one
that lived chiefly upon the libe-
rality of Noblemen; by vainglorious
affecting the grace of a pleasant com-
paign: of him the King demanded in
mirth, what hee thought best to be
done? Sir Hugh swore, sworne and

snailcs; let us set upon them, and kill every man and mothers child; and so wee shall make riddance of the best friends you have in the Realme, this giddy answer more weighed with the King then if it had beene spoken in grave and sober sort: and thus it often happeneth, that wisdomc is the more sweetly swallowed when it is tempered with folly, and earnest is the lesse offensive, if it bee delivered in jest. In the end, the devise of raising armes was laid aside, not as displeasing (being so agreeable to former proceedings; but as despairing to prevaile thereby; and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with the Bishop of *Ely* being Lord Chancellour, were sent unto the Lords, to understand the cause of their assembly: answer was made, that it was for the safety of themselves; the honour of the King; and the overthrow of them which sought the overthrow of both. At the last it was concluded by mediation of the Bishops, that

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the Lords should come before the King at *Westminster*, upon promise of his protection, and there have audience concerning their grieues: the Bishop of *Ely* also making private faith, that hee would discover any danger that hee could discrie, a little before the time they should come, the Bishop of *Ely* sent word of an await, that was purposed to bee laid for them, at a place called the *Mewes*, neere *London*; advising them either to make stay, or to come prepared: but rather to make stay, least further provocation might make reconciliation more hard, hereupon they came not at the time appointed, and the King marvailing at their faillance, enquired the cause of the Bishop of *Ely*: who answered, that the Lords found want of true meaning, and that they neither did, nor durst repose assurance to the Kings word, which they saw to bee used as a meanes to entrap them, the King made the matter very strange unto him, affirming with an oath

that hee was free from deceit, both in consent and knowledge: and in a great rage, hee commanded the Sheriffs of *London* to goe to the place, and slay all those whom they found there in wait. Whether this was but a countenance of his, or whether hee was not privy to the practice, it is not assuredly knowne, and indeed, the matter was not false, but the place mistaken: for Sir *Thomas Trivet*, and Sir *Nicholas Brambre* had assembled many armed men at *Westminster*, with direction to assault the Lords at their best advantage: but perceiving their deceit to bee discovered, they dissolved the company, and sent them secretly away to *London*.

Then the Lords, upon new faith for their security, came to the King at *Westminster*, and yet in such they brought security with them, such troupes of men, as in a place where they were so intirely favoured, was able to defend them, in any suddaine tumult or danger: the King upon their
their

their comming entred into Westminster Hall, apparelled in his Royall robes: and when hee was placed in his seat, and had composed himselfe to Majesty and State, the Bishop of Ely, Lord Chancellour, made a long Oration to the Lords in the Kings name. Wherin hee declared the heinousnesse of their offence, the greatnesse of their perill, how easie a matter it had beene for the King to have levied a power sufficient to destroy them; and yet for the generall spare of his Subjects blood, and in particular favour to the Duke and other Lords, hee made choise to encounter and overcome them, rather by friendship then by force: and therefore was willing, not onely to pardon their riot, but also to heare their gruelles, and in a peaceable and quiet manner to redresse them. The Lords alledged for causes of their taking armes, first the necessity of their owne defence: secondly the love both of the King and of the Realme, whose fame and fortune

did

did dayly decline, by meanes of certaine Traytours, who lived onely by the dishonours of the one, and decayes of the other, those whom they challenged for Traytours, were *Robert Keere*, Duke of Ireland, *Alexander Nevill* Archbishop of Yorke, *Michaell De-la-poole* Earle of Suffolke, *Robert Trisilian* Lord chiefe Justice, *Sir Nicholas Brambre*, and certaine others, somewhat secret, but nothing better: and to justifie this appeale, they threw downe their gloves, and offered themselves to the trial by combat. The King replied, that oftentimes the causes of actions being good, yet, if the meanes want moderation, and judgement, the events prove pernicious: and therefore, though these complaints were true, yet were these courses not tolerable, which did beare an open face of rebellion, and by licentiousnesse of that multitude, might soone have sorted to such an end: for it is more easie to raise the people, then to rule them: whose fury once stirred, will

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commonly bee discharged some wayes. But (said hee) since wee have broken this broile, wee will not by combating give occasion of a newe: but at the next Parliament (which hee appointed should be ginne the third day of February then next ensuing) as well you, as they, shall bee present, and justice indifferently doe unto all. In the meane time, hee tooke all parties into his protection, that none should endanger or endamage another: desiring the Lords to beare in mind, that as Princes must not rule without limitation, so Subjects must use a meane in their liberty. Then hee caused the Duke and the Earles, which all this time knecled before him, to arise, and went with them into his private Chamber, where they talked a while, and drunke familiarly together, and afterwards, with a most friendly farewell hee licensed them to depart. They of the contrary faction were not present at this meeting, and if they had,

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Purifica-
tionis.*

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it was thought, that the presence of the King should little have protected them.

This act of the King was divers wayes taken: some judged him fearefull; others moderate, rather in sparing the blood of his Subjects. The Lords were very joyfull of his good will and favour, which as by base or bad means they would not seeke, so being well gotten, they did highly esteeme. Yet they thought it the safest course, not to separate themselves, suspecting the mutability of the King, and the malice of their enemies, of whom they knew neither where they were, nor what they did intend: and being men of great wealth, and great power, and greatly bent to hurtfull practices, they were feared not without a cause: for the Duke of Ireland, either by letting on, or sufferance of the King, was all this time mustering of Souldiers out of *Cheshire* and *Wales*, where hee gathered an army both for number, and goodwille of men
suffi-

sufficient, if another had beene ge-
 nerall, to have maintained the
 side. When the Lords were advertised
 hereto, they divided themselves, and
 beset all the wayes by which the
 Duke should passe to London, deter-
 mining to encounter him, before hee
 did increase his power, and coun-
 terpoynt his actions with the puissance
 of name of the King. At the last hee
 was met by the Earle of Derby, at a
 place called *Babthorpe* neere to *Bur-*
ford: and there the Earle put his men
 in array, resolving with great bold-
 nesse to hazard the battaile, his Soul-
 diers also were full of courage and
 heart, disliking nothing more then de-
 lay, as a loosing of time, and a hinde-
 rance to the victory: but the Duke, be-
 ing a man not fit for action, yet much
 more apt to strike strife,
 then able to fight it: upon newes of
 an enemy would presently have fled.
 There was then in the army a prin-
 cipall Commander, one Sir Thomas
Mordaunt, Constable of *Gloucester*, a

man of great wealth, and of good
proofe in service, upon whose lea-
ding all that Countrey did depend-
lie: perswaded the Duke, that this
was but a part of the forces that
were against them, and led onely by
the Earle of *Derby*, a man of no spe-
ciall name (at that time) among the
Lords, and if they could not beare
through that resistance, it was but
in vaine to attempt any great at-
cheuement by armes. Hereupon the
Duke stayed his steps, but his faint
Spirits were moved by this speech,
rather to desire victory then to hope
it: his souldiers also were dull, silent,
and sad, and such as were readier to
interpret, then to execute the Cap-
taines commandement. So they joy-
ned battell, but scarce seeing ounces of
bloud was lost on both sides, be-
fore the Duke of *Ireland* set spurres
to his horse, and forsooke the field.
His souldiers seeing this, threw away
their unfortunate weapons, more for
indignation then for feare, ruffling
their ranks, and yielding to the Earle
the

the honour of the field. Sir Thomas Molinex in flying away, was forced to take a River which was neere, and as hee was comming soorth againe, a certaine Knight, whose name was Sir Thomas Mortimer, pulled off his helmet, and stabbed him into the braines with his dagger. The rest submitted themselves to the discretion of the Victorers, making them Lords over their life, and death: but their yeelding was no sooner offered, then it was accepted, the Earle presently commanding that none should bee harmed, but those that did make resistance, or beare armour: The souldiers also being willing to shew favour towards their Countrey-men, as led into this action, partly upon simplicity, partly to accompany these which came upon feare. Then the Gentlemen were still retained in the Earles company, the common Souldiours were dispoiled of their armour onely, and so returned againe to their peaceable businesse at home.

And

And this was the first act whereby reputation did rise to the side, and the greatnesse beganne, whereunto the Earle afterwards attained.

The Duke of *Ireland*, at the beginning of his flight, was desirous to have passed the River which ranne by: and coming to a bridge, hee found the same broken: from thence hee posted to another bridge, which hee found guarded with Archers. At the last, his fearefulness being feared away (as nothing maketh men more desperate upon a doubtfull danger, then feare of that which is certaine) hee adventured to take the streame, in the midst whereof hee forsooke his horse and swam to the other side, and so by benefit of the night elaped, and fled into *Scotland*: and shortly after passed the Seas into *Flanders*, and from thence travelled into *France*: where the continuall gall of his griefe soone brought his loathed life to an end. His horse was taken with his brest-plate,

plate, his helmer and his gauntlets, whereupon it was generally supposed that hee was drowned; and (as in great uncertainties it often happeneth) some affirmed that they saw his death, which men either glad to heate, or not curious to search, did easily beleeye: whether this were thus contrived of purpose, or fell so out by chance, it was a great meanes of his escape, by staying the pursute after him, which otherwise had beene made. His coach also was taken, and certaine of the Kings letters found, wherein hee desired the Duke to come to *London* with all the speed and power hee could make, and hee would bee ready to dy in his defence; for unskillfull was hee in matter of government, that to pleasure a few, hee regarded not the discontentment of all the rest.

The Earle of *Suffolke*, upon this accident, shaved his beard, and in base and disguised attire fled to *Calis*, and either for feare, or for shame, never after returned into *England*: he was a

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cruell spoiler, and a carelesse spender, in Warre contemptible; in peace in-supportable, an enemy to all Counsaile of others, and in his owne conceit obstinately contentious; of a good wit, and ready speech both which hee abused, to the cunning commending of himselfe, and crafty depraving of others: hee was lesse loved but better heard of the King, then the Duke of *Ireland*: the more hurtfull man and the more hatchfull: the Duke being charged with no great fault: but onely the Kings excessive favour, in their course of good and bad fortune, both of them were famous alike. Also the Archbishop of *York*, Justice *Tresham*, and others of that faction, ranne every man, like conies to their covert; Yea, the King betooke himselfe to the Tower of *London*, and there made provision for his Winter abroad; having all his courses now crossed, first rashnes in taking armes, and afterwards by cowardise in maintaining them.

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The Earle of *Darby* signified this successe to his associates by letters, yet without any vantage or enlarging Termes: his speeches also were moderate, rather extenuating his fact then extolling it, but by stopping his fame, it much increased when men esteemed his high thoughts by his lowly words, and his conceit in great exploits, by his contempt of this. Then the Lords met, and marched together towards *London*, whither they came upon *Saint Stephens* day, having almost forty thousand men in their army, and first they shewed themselves in battaile array, in the fields neare unto the Tower, within the view of the King: afterwards, they tooke up their lodgings in the Suburbs, the Major and Aldermen of the City came forth, and gave liberall allowance of victuall to the souldiers, offering unto the Lords entertainment within the City, but they did not accept it.

Now this discord seemed to draw

to

to a dangerous distraction of the Common-wealth; the vanquished part being full of malice, and the Conquerours of presumption: the one wanting power, the other right to command and rule. The Archbishop of *Cantenbury*, and certaine others of the neutrality, fearing the sequel, perswaded the King to come to a treaty with the Lords: but hee made shew of very light regard of all these dealings; let them stay (said hee) untill they have wearied themselves with maintaining this multitude, and then I will talke further with them. When the Lords understood the drift of his devise, they beset the *Tbames*, and all other passages; and protested, that they would not depart untill they had talked with him to his face. The King having neither strength to resist; nor loope to scape, consented to a treaty; and to that end desired the Lords to come to him into the Tower: but they refused that place of meeting, upon feare of false measure,

fore, untill the King permitted them
to search as diligently, and come as
strongly, as they thought it meet.
So they came unto the King well
guarded, and after a few kind-
nesses, and strange salutations, they
laid before him, his proceedings a-
gainst them at Nottingham; his let-
ters which he sent to the Duke of
Ireland contrary to his word, for
the raising of armes against them:
his agreement with the French
King, for the yeelding up of Galis
and other strong holds which he
possessed in those parts: with divers
other points of dishonourable dea-
ling and negligent government.
What should the King then have
said or done? all these matters were
so evident, and so evill, that there
was no place left either for deni-
all or defence. Therefore ingenuously,
first with silence and patience, after-
wards with teares hee confessed his
errours. And certainly, the stiffe
stomack of the Lords relented more
to these like warme drops then
they

they would have done to his Cannon
shot.

Then it was agreed, that the next
day the King should meet with
them at *Westminster*, and there treat
further, both of these, and other ne-
cessary affaires of the Realme. So
the Duke, and the rest of the Lords
departed, except the Earle of *Darby*,
who stayed supper with the King,
and all that time stayed him in his
promised purpose; but when hee was
also gone, some of the secret Coun-
saillours, or Corrupters rather, and
Abusers of the King, whistled him
in the eare, that his going to *West-*
minster was neither seemely nor
safe, and would cause not onely to
his person present danger and con-
tempt, but also both abasement and
abridgement to his authority after-
wards. The Kings mind was soone
changed; but the Lords being now
stirred, and feeling the Kings hand
weake to governe the bridle, became
the more vehement, and sent him
word, that if hee did not faile with
them,

them, and not come according to appointment, they would chuse another King, who should have his Nobility in better regard. This peremptory message so terrified the King, that hee not onely went to *Westminster*, but suffered the Lords to doe there even what they would. So they caused him much against his liking, to remove out of the Court, *Alexander Nevill*, Archbishop of *Torke*, *Iohn Foord*, Bishop of *Durisme*, *Frier Thomas Rusboke*, Bishop of *Chichester*, the Kings Confessour: Likewise they removed the Lord *Souch*, the Lord *Haringworth*, Lord *Burnel*, Lord *Beaumont*, Sir *Albred Veere*, Sir *Baldewine Bereford*, Sir *Richard Alderbury*, Sir *Iohn Worth*, Sir *Thomas Clifford*, and Sir *Iohn Lovell*, taking sureties, for their appearance at the next Parliament. Also certaine Ladies, were expelled the Court, and put under sureties to wit, the Lady *Momen*, the Lady *Booling*, and the Lady *Poungs*, which was the wife of Sir *Iohn Moors*. Fur-
thermore,

thermore, they arrested *Simon Burly*, *William Elinghame*, *John Salisbury*, *Thomas Trivet*, *James Berneis*, *Nicholas Dagworth*, and *Nicholas Brebre Knights*, *Richard Clifford*, *John Lincolne*, and *Richard Morford*, *Clarkes*, *John Beauchampe* the Kings Steward, *Nicholas Lake*, Deane of the Kings Chappell, and *John Blake* Counciller at the Law: all these were committed to divers Prisons, where they were forth-comming, but not comming forth, untill the Parliament next following.

1588.

After the feast of the Purification, the Parliament beganne at *London*, (and yet the King used many means, either to dash or deferre the same) to which the Lords came, attended with the number and strength of a full army, upon colour to repress any riot that might happen to arise: but in truth, that by this terrour, they might draw the whole mannage of affaires unto themselves. This assembly continued untill *Whitsuntide* next following, with very great fear
of

of some men, and hope of others, and expectation of all. Herein was Justice *Trisilian*, by counsaile of the Lords, against the Kings mind, condemned to bee drawne and hanged: which judgement was presently executed upon him: the like sentence and execution passed upon Sir *Nicholas Brame*, Sir *John Salisbury*, Sir *John Barnard*, *John Beauchamp*, the Kings Steward, and *John Blake* Esquire, who had framed the Articles which were exhibited against the Lords at *Nottingham*. Also the Iustices who gave their judgement concerning these Articles, *Robert Bolknap*, *John Hild*, *Roger Fulkhrope*, and *William Burgh*, were condemned to perpetuall exile: and yet they did not interpose themselves, but intermeddle by constraint. Sir *Simon Barly* was also belied, who was Keeper of *Dover Castle*, and had conspired to deliver the same unto the *Frenchmen*: hee was infinitely haughty and proudly equal to the meanest in vertue and wisdom,

but in bravery and traine inferiour to no Duke. Divers other were either put to death, or banished, and some (as it happened when the reigne of Iury is at large) without any great cause. The Earle of Derby furthered no mans death, but laboured very instantly for the life and liberty of many; in so much as hot speeches did arise betwene the Duke of Gloucester and him: whereby hee purchased a favourable opinion among those of the contrary part, having caused the death of no man, but onely in the field. Then was an oath exacted of the King, to stand to the Government of the Lords: and also a note was taken of all the Subjects within the Realme, to bee true and faithfull unto the King. The King in taking this oath of the Lords, bewrayed his inward conceit by his open countenance, looking pleasantly on those hee favoured, and angerly on those whom hee hated: by which untimely discovery, hee made them more heedfull, and himselfe more hate-

hatefull: which were occasions afterward, both to prevent the revenge, which hee much desired and to procure the mischiefs which hee little feared. Lastly, a subsidie was granted: and so the King coming, as it were, to a capitulation with the Lords, hee to have the name of a King, and they the Authority and Majesty, the contention for that time ceased.

All this was done in the 11. yeare of the Kings raigne, hee being yet under age, and in Government of others. But the yeare following, hee beganne to take upon him more liberty and rule: and upon extreame disdain, that both his pleasure and his power were by the Lords thus restrained, hee did ever after beare a hard mind against them. And first hee assembled them in the Councell Chamber, and there demanded of what yeares they tooke him to bee: they answered, that hee was somewhat above one and twenty; then (said hee) I am of lawfull age to

1389

have the regiment in mine owne hand, and therefore you doe mee wrong to hold mee still under government, as though the condition of a King were harder then of a Subject. This the Lords were neither willing to grant, nor able to deny, and therefore they either kept silence, or spake little to the purpose. Well (said the King,) since I am no longer an infant, I heere renounce your rule, and take upon mee such free administration of the Realme, as the Kings thereof my Prodecessours heretofore have lawfully used. Then presently hee began his Phaetons flourish, and commanded the Bishop of Ely, being Lord Chancelour, to resigne his Seale, which the King received, and put up, and therewith departed out of the Chamber: but soone after hee returned againe, and delivered the same to *William Wickham* Bishop of *Winchester*, constituting him Lord Chancellour thereby. Many other officers hee likewise deposed; and placed new in their

their roome; partly to manifest his authority, and partly to satisfie his displeasure. Also hee removed the Duke of Gloucester, the Earle of Warwick, and many others from his Privy Councell, and tooke thole in their places, which more regarded the humour of the King, but lesse his honour.

Soone after, it was suggested to the King, that the Duke of Gloucester was gathering forces against him: but upon examination there was found not onely no truth, but no shew or colour of any such matter. The Duke would not quietly have digested the raising of these reports, but the King, whether upon a generall delight, to bee tickled in the eares with such tales, or upon particular desire to have some quarrell against the Duke, charged him to silence.

In the 13. yeare of the raigne of King Richard, the Citizens of Genoa desired his aid, against the Barbarians of Afrike, who with dayly

1390.

incurſions infeſted and ſpoiled all the Sea coaſts and Iſlands of *Italy*; and *France*, which fronted upon them. The King ſent a choyce company of Souldiers, under the conduct of *Henry Earle of Derby*; who behaved himſelfe in this charge with great integrity and courage, inciting his men, the good by praiſe, the bad by example, rather then reproofe, as more ready to commend the vertues of the one, then to upbraid the vices of the other. And firſt hee paſſed into *France*, and there joyned himſelfe to certaine *French* forces appointed likewise for this ſervice: then with might and minds upi- ted, they ſailed together into *Africk*. At their arrivall, the Barbarians were ready in armes to keepe them from landing: but the Earle commanded his Archers to breake through and make paſſage, deſpiſing the enemy, whom hee knew to bee weake and unſkilfull in ſervice, and not to have that advantage in place, which hee had in men: the *Frenchman* alſo
sharp-

sharply set in, and seconded the *Eng-
lish*: and so whilst both companies
contended, the one to bee accompted
a helpe, and the other to seeme to
need no helpe, the enemies were
forced to flie, and leave the shoare
unto the Christians. In this con-
flict, three Dukes of the Barbarians
and above three hundred Souldiers
were slaine, and in the flight, foure
Dukes were taken, and a great, yet
uncertaine, number of Common
people. Then the Christians mar-
ched directly towards *Tunis*, the
head City of that Countrey: this they
besieged, and in short time tooke;
chiefely by the prowesse of the *Eng-
lish* souldiers, who first scaled the
Wales, and reared thereon the Earles
banner. When they were entered the
Towne, the *Englishmen* bent their
endeavour, to the housing of their
enemies, and beating dowde of such
as made resistance, but the *French-
men* straight wayes turned to their
lascivious pleasures: so that there was
presented a spectacle, both pittifull

and shamelesse: in one place butchering of men, in another rioting with women: here streames of bloud, and heapes of slaughtered bodies, hard by dissolute and licentious wantonnesses in some; all the miseries of a cruell warre, and the loosenesse of a secure peace. Here were slaine and taken above foure thousand Barbarians: the Kings brother also was slaine: but the King himselfe fled into the Castle, which was strongly scited, and well fortified and furnished with men. The Christians laid siege to this Castle the space of five weekes, during which time, they lost many of their men, yet not by sword, but by sicknesse: the Barbarians also were distressed with want of victuall, having but little provision, and many unprofitable months to consume it: hereupon they sent unto the Christians, to desire peace, offering them a great summe of money, to depart out of their Countrey: this the Christians accepted, upon condition that they might also freely

carry

carry with them, all their pray and Prisoners; and that the Barbarians should from thence forth forbear from making spoile, upon any of the coasts of *Italy*, or *France*. Thus had this voyage a prosperous and speedy end: the onely service (as I suppose) which the *English* and *Frenchmen* performed together, without jostle of jarrer. And yet the Earle abused not the fortune of this successe, to vaine vaniting, or braving in words, but moderately imparted to the rest, the honour of the exploit: so by valiantly performing his charge, and sparingly speaking thereof, his glory encreased, without bit of envy.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth yeares of the raigne of King *Richard*, certaine causes of discontentment did grow, betwene the King and the *Londoners*, which set the favour of the one, and the faith of the other, at great separation and distance: One was, for that the King would have borrowed of them a thousand pounds:

1392.
1393.

pounds: which they feeling much, and fearing more the Kings dayly exactions, did not onely deny, but evill intreated a certaine Lumbard, who offered to lay out the money.

Another griefe was thus occasioned: One of the Bishop of *Salisbury* servants, named *Romane*, meeting in *Fleet-street* with a Baker man, bearing horse-bread, tooke a loafe out of his basket: and by rude demand of the one, and rough deniall of the other, chollar so kindled betwixt them, that *Romane* brake the Bakers head. Hereupon the Neighbours came forth, and would have arrested the Bishops lusty yeoman: but hee escaped, and fled to this Bishops house. The Constable followed peaceably, and demanded a quiet delivery of the Offendour: but the Bishops men shut the gates against him, that no man could come neere. Then much people flocked together, threatening to breake open the gates, and fire the house, unless *Romane* were

were brought forth unto them: What (said they) are the Bishops men privileged? or is his house a Sanctuary? or will hee protect those whom hee ought to punish? if wee may bee shuffled off in this sort, not onely our streets, but our shops and our houses shall never bee free from violence and wrong. This wee will not endure: wee cannot: it standeth not us in hand. Herewith they approached the gates, and beganne to use violence: but the Major and Sheriffes of the City, upon advertisement of this tumult, came amongst them, crying out: that it was not courage, but out-rage, which they shewed: whereby they would procure, both danger to themselves and displeasure against the whole City; that although wrong had bene received, yet they were not in the men; nor this the meanes to redresse the same: So partly by their perswasions, partly by their presence and authority, they repressed the riot, and sent every man away, with straight charge

charge to keepe the peace. Here was yet no great harme done, and the quarrell might have beene quieted without more adoe, had not the Bishops stirred therein, and kindled the coales of unkindnesse a fresh. For the *Londoners* at that time, were not onely suspected secretly, but openly noted to bee favourers and followers of *Wickliffes* opinions: for which cause, they were much maliced of the Bishops; and many of their actions interpreted, to proceed from another mind, and tend to a worse end, then was outwardly borne in countenance and shew: and some matters of chance, were taken as done of purpose. Therefore the Bishop of *Salisbury* called *John Wat-
tām*, who was also Treasourer of *England*, made a grievous complaint of this attempt, to *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop of *Torke*, and Lord Chancellour; affirming, that if upon every light pretence, the Citizens might bee suffered in this sort to insult upon the Bishops, without punishment,

nishment, without reproofe and blame, they would bring into a hazard, not onely the dignity and state, but the liberty also of the whole Church: did they not lately take upon them the punishment of adulteries, and other crimes appertaining to Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction? maliciously alleaging, that the Bishops and their Officers, either being infamous for those vices themselves, did winck at the same in others: or else by covetous commutation, did rather set them to sale, then carefully repress them. Did they not rudely and unreverently breake open the doores upon the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and interrupt his proceedings against *John Astone*, an open follower of *Wickliffe*? and doe wee thinke that this is the last indignity that they will offer? no surely, nor yet the least: and if this boldnesse bee not beaten downe, our authority will fall into open contempt and scorne, and bee made a common foote ball, for every base Citizen to spurne.

spurne at. Hereupon they went together to the King, and so incensed his displeasure against the *Londoners*, (being prepared thereto by former provocations) that hee was in the mind to make spoile of the City, and utterly to destroy it. But being perswaded to some more moderation: in revenge, first hee caused the Major and Sheriffes, and many of the chiefe Citizens to bee apprehended, and committed to divers severall Prisons: then hee ceazed all the liberties of the City into his hands, and ordained, that no Major should any more bee elected, but that the King should at his pleasure appoint a Warden and Governour over the City. This office was first committed to Sir *Edward Darlington*: who for his gentleness towards the Citizens, was shortly after removed, and Sir *Bauldwin Radington* placed in his roome. Also the King was induced, or rather seduced by the Archbishop of *York*, Lord Chancellor, to remove the *Tearmes* and Courts.

Courts : to wit, the Chancery, the Exchequer, the Kings bench, the hamper, and the Common pleas, from *London*, to bee kept at *Torke*, where the same continued from Mid-summer in the year 1393. untill *Christmasse* next following, to the great hinderance and decay of the City of *London*. At the last, the King upon earnest intreaty of the Duke of *Lancaster*, and the Duke of *Gloster*, called the *Londoners* before him at *Windsore* : where having first terrified them with the presence and shew of a great number of armed men) hee caused all the privileges of the City, both old and new, to bee brought forth, whereof hee restored some, and restrained the rest : yet the *Londoners* were not fully restored to favour ; neither recovered they at that time, either the person or dignity of their Major. Shortly after, the King went to *London* : at whose comming the Citizens changed all their grieft into gladnesse (as the common sort is

is without measure in both) entertaining him with such joyfull triumphes and rich presents, as if it had beene the day of his coronation. They supposed with these great curtesies and costs to have satisfied his displeasure; but they found themselves farre deceived: for they were not fully restored to their liberties againe, untill they had made fine to pay unto the King tenne thousand pounds. Thus did the *Londoners* manifest in themselves, a strange diversity of disposition, both licentiously to commit offence, and patiently to endure punishment; having rashnesse and rage so tempered with obedience, that they were easily punished, who could not possibly be ruled. Yet for this cause; so soone as first occasion did serve against the King; they shewed themselves, either his earnest enemies, or faint friends.

King *Richard* in the nineteenth yeare of his raigne, passed the Seas to *Calis*: the *French King* also came downe

downe to *Ard*: betweene which
two Townes, a place was appoin-
ted, and tents erected for both the
Kings to meet. After large expences
on both sides, and great honour
done by the one King to the other:
a surcease of armes was concluded
betweene them for thirty years: and
King *Richard* tooke to wife Lady *I-
sabel*, the French Kings Daughter, be-
ing not above seven or eight yeares
old. The Duke of *Gloucester* was so
offended; both with this friendship,
and affinity, that hee lost all manner
of patience: exclaiming, that it was
more meet to bee in armes, then in
amity with the *Frenchmen*, who
being inferiour to the *English* in
courage, did alwayes over-reach
them in craft, and being too weake
for Warre, did many times prevaile
by peace: that now they had got
into their hands, many Townes and
Holds, appertaining to the Crowne
of *England*, they were willing to
conclude a peace, to exclude the
King thereby from his possessions:

but

but whensoever occasion should
change for their advantage, they
would bee then as ready to start from
the friendship, as at that present they
were to strike it; that the *French*
Kings Daughter, being but a child,
was very unmeet for the marriage
of King *Richard*, as well for dispari-
ty of age, as for that the King had no
issue by his first wife, and was not
like to have any by this, except
(perhaps) in his old and whither-
red yeares. When the Duke saw,
that with these motives hee did no-
thing prevaile, hee subordned the
Londoners, to make petition to the
King, that seeing there was peace
with *France*, hee would release them
of the subsidy which they had gran-
ted to him in regard of those warres.
This suite was instantly followed,
and much perplexed the King, untill
the Duke of *Lincolne* declared to
the people, that the King had beene
at the charge and dispende of three
hundred thousand pounds in his
voyage into *France*, for the pro-
curing

ending of this peace: whereupon they were pacified, and desisted from their demand.

The yeare following, Guido Earle of Saint. *Pauls*, was sent into England by Charles King of France, to visit and salute in his name, King Richard, and Queene Isabel his wife, the French Kings Daughter. To this Earle, the King did relate, with what fervency the Duke of Gloucester contended to make disturbance of the peace betweene England and France, how, because his mind was not therein followed, hee moved the people to seditious attempts, bending himselfe wholly to maintaine discord and disquiet, rather in his owne Countrey then not at all. Hee further reported what strife strifes, in former times, the Duke had stirred, which, howsoever they were done, yet as they were declared, they sounded very odious and hard. When the Earle heard this, hee presently answered, that the Duke was too dangerous a subject

1397.

ject to bee permitted to live: that
greatnesse was never safe, if it grow
excessive and bold: that the King
must not affect the vaine commen-
dation of clemency, with his owne
perill: and that it touched him both
in honour to revenge the disgraces
which hee had received, and in po-
licy to prevent the dangers which
hee had cause to feare. These words
to sharpened the Kings displeasure,
that from thenceforth hee busied
his braines in no one thing more,
then how to bring the Duke to his
end. Now hee beganne to pry more
narrowly into his demeanour: to
watch his words: to observe actions:
and alwayes to interpret them to
the worst, framing himselfe to many
vaine and needlesse feares. Often-
times hee would complaine of him
to the Duke of *Gloucester*, and the
Duke of *Norfolk*, how fierce and vio-
lent hee was in his speeches, and
crosse to him in all matters. The
Dukes would make answer that the
Duke of *Gloucester* their brother, was
indeed

indeed more hot and vehement
then they did command: yet his
fiercenesse was joyned with faith-
fulnesse, and his crueltiesse, proce-
ded from a care, least the Common-
wealth should decrease either in
honour, or in possessions: and there-
fore the King had neither need to
feare, nor cause to dislike.

About that time, the Dukes of
Lancaster and of Yorke withdrew
themselves from the Court, to their
private Houles, the Duke of Glou-
cester also went to ly at Plashey, neere
Chelmsford in Essex: upon advan-
tage of which seperation, the King
stood distracted in mind, betwene
feare to defer, and shame to avow
the destruction of the Duke, least hee
might happily bee disappointed by
the one, or dishonoured by the o-
ther. Hereupon hee entered into
counsaile with John Holland, Earle
of Huntington, his halfe brother;
and Thomas Ardenbury, Earle of Nor-
thampton, how the Duke of Gloucester
might be suppressed or oppressed
rather,

rather, the crutch which was but
wavering in the King, yea wanting
by nature, was soone confirmed by
evill advise: and being once inclined
to blood, hee did not faile, either of
examples of lewd action to follow,
or direction of cruell Counsaile what
to doe: so the plot was contrived,
and according thereto, the King
and the Earle of *Nottingham* rode
together into *Essex*, as though it
were to disport themselves in hun-
ting: when they were in the midst
of the Forrest, the Earle made stay,
and the King passed forth with a
small and unsuspecting company to
the Duke lying at *Plashey*: there hee
stayed dinner: and then pretending
occasion of present returne, hee de-
sired the Duke to accompany him
to *London*, the faire intreaty of a
Prince, is a most forcible command,
therefore the Duke supposing that
onely to bee intended indeed, which
was pretended in shew, went to
horse back with the King, taking
such small attendance, as upon the
sudden

sudden could bee in a readinesse, and appointing the rest to come after him to London. So they rode together using much familiar talke by the way, untill they came neere the place of await: then the King put his horse forward, and the Duke coming behind, was suddenly intercepted and stayed, crying aloud, and calling to the King for his helpe: the King continued his journey as though hee had not heard: and the Duke was violently carried to the *Tbames*, and there shipped in a vessell layed for the purpose, and from thence conveyed over to *Calis*.

When the King came to London, he caused the Earle of *Warwick* also to bee arrested and sent to prison, the same day that hee had invited him to dinner, and shewed good countenance, and promised to bee a gracious Lord unto him. Ypon the like dissembled shew, the Earle of *Arundel*, and his Sonne, and certaine others were arrested also, and

committed to prison in the Ile of
Wight: *mod. of his old prison*

The common people upon the apprehending of these three Noblemen, whom they chiefly, and almost only favoured, were in a great confusion and tumult; and there wanted but a head to draw them to sedition: every man sorrowed, murmured, and threatned, and daring no further, stood waiting for one to lead them the way: all being ready to follow that, which any one was loath to beginne. The Duke of Lancaster and of Yorke gathered a strong army, and came therewith to London, where they were readily received by the Citizens, although the King had commanded the contrary: but this seemed to be done, rather for guard to themselves, then regard to any others.

The King all this time, kept at a Village called *Hotham*, within foure miles of London, having about him a great power of armed men, which hee had gathered out of
Cheshire

Cheshire and Wales: and to pacifie the
common people, hee caused to bee
proclaimed, that the Lords were not
apprehended upon old displeasures,
but for offences lately committed,
for which they should bee appea-
led by order of Law, and receive o-
pen trial, in the Parliament next
following: the like message was
sent to the Duke of Lancaster, and
the Duke of Yorke, lying at London:
to whom the King made faith, for
the safety of their persons, and in-
demnity of their goods, and that no-
thing should bee attempted without
their privy and advice: all this was
as rashly believed, as it was craftily
given out: whereupon the Dukes
dissembled their fears, and dis-
solved their forces, and remai-
ned in expectancy what would en-
sue.

A little before the feast of Saint
Michael, the Parliament beganne at
London, wherein Sir John Baskett,
Sir William Bagot, and Sir Henry
Greene, were principall agents for

the Kings purpose. These were then
in all the credites and authority with
the King, and his chiefest Schoole-
masters both of eruelty and deecit;
they were proud, arrogant, and am-
bitious, and upon confidence of the
Kings favour, professed enemies to
men of ancient Nobility; to the end,
that being lately start up, they might
become more famous by maintain-
ing contention with great persons.
And first, by their importuned tra-
uaile, all the Charters of pardon,
granted by the King, were in this
Parliament annulled and revoked.
Then the Prelates did constitute Sir
Henry Percie their Procuratour, and
departed the house, because they
might not bee present in iudgement
of bloud. Lastly, the Earle of *Arundel*,
and the Earle of *Warwick* were
arraigned; and for the same offences,
for which they had beene pardoned
(namely for encroaching to them-
selves Royall power in iudging to
death *Simon Barly*, *Iohn Bernes*, and
others, without the Kings consent)

were

were condemned to bee hanged,
drawne, and quartered: but the King
so moderated the severity of this
sentence, that the Earle of *Arundel*
was onely beheaded, and the Earle
of *Warwick* committed to per-
petuall imprisonment in the Ile of
Man.

The Duke of *Glocester*, was so
greatly favoured, that it was thought
a point both of policy and peace, not
to bring him to his open answer, but
to put him to death secretly: so hee
was strangled under a feather bed at
Calce by the Earle of *Nottingham*, be-
ing then Earle Marshall: which death,
howsoever he deserved, yet dying as
hee did not called, nor heard, he died
as guiltlesse.

In this same Parliament; *Thomas*
Arundel Archbishop of *Canter-*
bury was also accused, for execu-
ting the commission against *Michael*
De-la-poule, Earle of *Suffolke*: for
which cause, his temporalties were
seized; his lands and goods forfeit-
ed, as well in use as in possession:

and hee himselfe was adjudged to exile, and charged to depart the Realme, within six weekes then next ensuing. So hee went into France, where afterwards, hee became a principall meane of the revolt which followed. Also the Lord Cobham was exiled into the Ile of Gerssey: and Sir Reinold Cobham was condemned to death, not for entering into any attempt against the King, but because he was appointed by the Lords to bee one of his Governours, and of his Counsaile, in the 11. yeare of his raigne.

Now the King, falsely supposing, that hee was free from all dangers, and that the humour against him, was cleane purged and spent, conceived more secret contentment, then hee would openly bewray; as more able to dissemble his joy, then conceale his feare: being so blinded and bewitched with continuall custome of flatteries, that hee perceived not, that the state of a Prince is never stablished by cruelty and craft.

craft. On the other side, the Common people were much dismayed, having now lost those whom they accounted their onely helpes, and their onely hopes, both for their private affaires, and for supporting the state: and because these mishaps happened unto them, for maintaining a cause of common dislike, the peoples stomack was stirred thereby to much hate and heart-burning against the King. And to make their deaths the more odious, the Earle of Arundel was reputed a Martyr, and Pilgrimages were dayly made to the place of his buriall: the rumour also was current but without either author or ground, that his head was miraculously fastened againe to his body: this whilest all men affirmed, and no man knew, the King caused the corps to bee taken up, and viewed, tenne dayes after it was interred: and finding the same to bee fabulous, hee caused the ground to bee paved where the Earle was laid, and all mention of his buriall to

bee taken away, forbidding publikely any such speeches of him afterwards to be used. But this restraint raised the more: and they, who if it had bin lawfull, would have said nothing, being once forbidden, could not forbear to talke. It was also constantly reported, that the King was much disquieted in his dreames with the Earle, who did often seeme to appeare unto him, in so terrible and truculent manner, that breaking his fearefull sleepe, hee would curse the time that ever hee knew him.

1398.

In the one and twenty year of the raigne of King *Richard*, *Henry* Earle of *Darby*, was created Duke of *Hertford*: at which time the King created foure other Dukes: to wit, Duke of *Anmerle*, who was before Earle of *Rutland*: Duke of *Southrey*, who was before Earle of *Kent*: Duke of *Excester*, who was before Earle of *Huntington*: and Duke of *Norfolke*, who was before Earle of *Nottingham*. This degree of honour long time after the conquest of

of the Normans (whose chiefest Rulers had no higher title) was accounted too great for a subject to beare : the forme of the Commonwealth, being framed by the Victours, farre from equality of all, and yet the King excepted without eminency of any. At the length King Edward the third created his eldest Sonne Edward Duke of Cornwall, and made this honour hereditary, conferring it unto many : since which time, divers Princes of his land have beene either put, or kept, or hazarded from their estate, by men of that quality and degree. The King likewise created the Countesse of *Norfolke*, Dutchesse of *Norfolke*, the Earle of *Somerset*, Marquesse of *Somerset* : the Lord *Spencer*, Earle of *Gloucester* : the Lord *Nevill*, Earle of *Westmerland* : the Lord *Seroupe*, Earle of *Wiltshire*, and the Lord *Thomas Darcy* his Steward, Earle of *Worcester*. Among these, hee made division of a great part of the lands of the Duke of

Glossiter, and of the Earles of *Arundel* and *Warwick*: supposing by this double liberality of honour and possessions, to have purchased to himselfe most firme friendships: but bought friends, for the most part, are seldome either satisfied or sure: and like certaine Ravens, in *Arabia*, so long as they are full, doe yeeld a pleasant voice: but being empty, doe make a horrible cry.

Now the Duke of *Hereford* raised his desires, together with his dignities, and either upon disdain, at the undeserved favour and advancement of some persons about the King: or upon dislike, that the King was so dishonourably both abused and abased by them: or else (perhaps) upon desire, to manifest his owne sufficiencie in matters of controulement and direction: being in familiar discourse with *Thomas Mowbray*, Duke of *Norfolke*, hee brake into complaint, how the King regarded not the Noble Princes of his blood, and Peeres of the Realme.

and

and by extremities used to some, discouraged the rest from intermeddling in any publique affaires: how instead of these, hee was wholly governed by certaine new-found and new-fangled favorites, vulgar in birth, corrupt in qualities, having no sufficiency either of counsell for peace, or of courage for warre: who being of all men the most unhoneest, and the most unable, with hatefulnessse of the one, and contempt of the other, were generally despised in all the Realme: that hereby, first, the honour of the Kings person was much blemished; for ungrate and ungracious adherents are alway the way to hatred and contempt. Secondly, the safety of his state might bee endangered; for extraordinary favour to men apparently of weak or bad desert, doth breed insolency in them, and discontentment in others; two dangerous humours in a Common-wealth. Thirdly, the dignity of the Realme was much impaired: whose fortune and vi-

our being guided by the ill chance
 of such unlucky leaders, stood ne-
 ver in the like Termes of doubt and
 distresse; so that matters of peace
 were tumultuous, and uncertaine,
 and atchievements of warre were
 never brought to honourable con-
 clusion: that *Alexander Severus*
 would have smoaked such sellers
 of smoake; that *Xerxes* would have
 pulled their skinn over their eares;
 and high time it was, that the King
 should looke unto them: for the No-
 bility grew out of heart, the Com-
 mons out of hope, and all the peo-
 ple fell to a discontented murmu-
 ring. And this hee said (as hee said)
 not for any grudge, but for griepe and
 good will: and therefore desired the
 Duke, who was one of the privy
 Councell, and well heard with the
 King, to discover unto him these de-
 formities and dangers, that by repai-
 ring the one, hee might happily repell
 the other.

These words procured to the
 Duke of *Gloucester* both great of-
 fence,

sence, and great glory: at the deli-
very whereof, the Duke of *Norfolke*
made shew of good liking, and pro-
mise of sincere dealing. And in-
deed, if they had beene as faithfully
reported by him, and by the King as
friendly taken, as they were faith-
fully and friendly meant, many
mischiefs might have beene avoi-
ded: but both of these did faile: for
the Duke of *Norfolke* although in
former times he had taken part with
the Lords, yet afterwards, being de-
sirous to bee accounted rather a-
mong the great men, than the good,
hee made sale of his honour, to main-
taine his pleasure, and continue him-
selfe in grace with the King, to which
hee was altogether inthrall'd: inso-
much, that the murdering of the
Duke of *Gloucester*, and the execu-
tion of the Earle of *Arundel*, was
to his charge especially committed:
and supposing upon this occasion
to make a free hold of his Princes fa-
vour, hee grievously aggravated these
speeches in reporting them, and yet

cun-

cunningly too: with many lies intermixing some truths, or making the truth much more then it was. Again, the King not enduring the search of his senses, did bend his mind rather to punish the boldnesse, then examine the truth of these reproofes: his eares being so distempered with continuance of flattery, that hee accounted all sharp that was sound, and liked onely that which was presently pleasant, and afterwards hurtfull. Thus wee may dayly observe, that no strange accident doth at any time happen, but it is by some meanes fore-shewed, or foretould: but because these warnings are oftentimes either not marked, or misconstrued, or else contemned, the events are accounted inevitable and the admonitions vaine.

The King being in this sort touched by the one Duke, and tickled by the other, was not resolved upon the suddaine, what to doe: therefore hee assembled his Councell and

and called the two Dukes before
him, and demanded of the Duke of
Hereford, if he would openly avouch
that which hee had suggested in se-
cret. The Duke seeing it was now
no time for him, either to shrink
or shuffle in his tale, with a bold and
confident courage repeated all that
before hee had reported. But the
Duke of Hereford could not bee
borne downe by countenance,
where his cause was good: and
therefore after a short silence, where-
by hee seemed rather amazed at the
strangenesse of this matter, then a-
bashed at the guilt, hee made low
obeyfance to the King, and greatly
both thanked and commended him,
that hee had not given hasty credite
to matters of such tender touch, as
his griefe might have borne out the
blame of rashnesse in revenge, de-
ferring him to continue yet a while,
the respite of his displeasure, and
to reserve his judgement first for in-
different audience. Then he declared
in order, what speech had passed
from

from him, upon what occasion, and to what end: all the rest hee stoutly denied, affirming, that it was falsely furnished by his Adversary, either upon malice to pick a quarrell; or upon sycophancy to pick a thanke, and that thereupon hee was untrue, unjust, a forger of slanderous and seditious lies, whereby hee treacherously indeuoured to seduce the King to destroy the Nobility, and to raise disturbance within the Realme: and this hee offered to prove upon him (if the King would permit) by the stroake of a speare and by dint of sword. The Duke of *Norfolkes* stomach not used to beare scorne; could not digest these Tearmes of disgrace: whereupon hee stiffely stood to his first imputation: & for maintenance thereof he accepted, and also desired the combate. The King would some other wayes have quieted this contention, but the Dukes would agree to no other kind of agreement: and thereupon threw downe their gloves one against the
other

other for gages. The King seeing their obstinacy, granted them the battaile, and assigned the place at the City of Coventry, in the Month of August then next ensuing: where in the meane time, hee caused a sumptuous Theater, and Lists royall to be prepared.

At the day of comtate, the two Dukes came, well handed with Noblemen and Gentlemen of their lineage. The Duke of *Normandy* for that day high Constable, and the Duke of *Warre* for the same time and action, high Marshall of *England*, entred into the Lists, with a great troupe of men apparessed in silke sondale, embroidered with silver; every man having a tipped staff to keep the field in order. About the time of prime, the Duke of *Hereford* came to the Barriers of the Lists mounted upon a white courser, barbed with blew and green velvet, embroidered gorgeously with Swans and Antilops of Goldsmiths worke, armed at all points, and his sword drawne in his hand. The Constable
and

and Marshall came to the barriers, and demanded of him, who hee was? Hee answered: I am *Henry Duke of Hereford*, and am come to doe my dovoire against *Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norfolk*, as a Traytour to God, the King, the Realme, and mee. Then hee sware upon the Ewangelists, that his quarrell was right, and upon that point desired to enter the lists, then hee put up his sword, pulled downe his heaver, made a crosse on his fore-head, and with speare in hand, entred into the Lists, and there lighted from his horse, and felle downe in a chaine of greene velvet, which was set in a traicse of greene and blew velvet at the one end of the listes: and so expected the coming of his enemy: soone after King *Richard* entred the field with great pompe both in bravery and traine: hee had in his company, the Earle of *Saint Paul*, who came purposely out of *France* to see this combat tried; he was attended with all the Noble Peeres of the Realme, and guarded with

with tenne thousand men in armes,
for feare of any suddaine or intended
assault.

When hee was placed on his
stage, which was very curiously and
richly set forth, a King at armes made
proclamation in the name of the
King, and of the high Constable, and
of the Marshall, that no man, except
such as were appointed to order and
marshall the field, should touch any
part of the listes, upon paine of
death. This proclamation being
ended, another Herald cried: Be-
hold here, *Henry of Lancaster* Duke
of *Hereford*, appellant, who is en-
tered into the listes Royall, to doe
his devoire, against *Thomas Mar-
tiney* Duke of *Norfolke*, defendant,
upon paine to bee accompted false
and recreant. The Duke of *Nor-
folke* was hovering on horseback
at the entry of the listes, his horse be-
ing barbed with crimson velvet, em-
brodered richly with lions of silver;
and mulctory trees: and when hee had
made his oath, before the Constable
and

and Marshall, that his quarrell was
just and true, hee entred the field
boldly, crying aloud, God aid him
that hath the right: then hee lighted
from his horse and sat downe in a
Chaire of crimson velvet, curtained a-
bout with red and white Damaske,
and placed at the other end of the
Lills. The Lord Marshall viewed
both their speares, to see that they
were of equall length: the one speare
hee carried himseffe to the Duke of
Hersford, and sent the other to the
Duke of *Norfolke* by a Knight. This
done a Herrald proclaimed, that the
traverses and chaires of the combat-
tants should be removed, comman-
ding them in the Kings name, to
mount on horse back, and addresse
themselves to the encounter, the
Dukes were quickly horsed, and clo-
sed their beavies, and cast their
speares into the rests. Then the trum-
pets sounded, and the Duke of *Hers-
ford* set forth towards his enemy,
about six or seaven paces; but before
the Duke of *Norfolke* beganne to put
for.

forward, the King cast downe his
Warder; and the Herralds cried ho:
then the King caused the Dukes
speares to bee taken from them, and
commanded them to forsake their
horses, and returne againe to their
chaires: where they remained above
two long houres, whilst the King de-
liberated with his Councell what
was fittest to bee done. At last, the
Herralds criel silence: and Sir *John*
Barcy a Secretary of State, with a loud
voice, read the sentence and deter-
mination of the King and his Coun-
cell out of a long roule: wherein was
contained, that *Henry of Lancaster*
Duke of *Hereford*, appellant, and *Tho-*
mas Mowbray Duke of *Norfolke*, de-
fendant, had honourably appeared
that day within the Lists Royall,
and declared themselves valiant and
hardy Champions; being not only re-
dy, but forward and desirous to dare
in the battell: but because this was a
matter of great consequence and im-
port, the King with the advice of his
Councell, thought it meet to take the

same

same into his owne hands: and thereupon had decreed, that *Henry Duke of Hereford*, because hee had displeased the King, and for diuers other considerations, should within 15. dayes next following, depart out of the Realme, and not to returne during the Terme of tenne yeares, without the Kings especiall licence, upon paine of death.

When this iudgement was heard, a confused noise was raised among the people, some lamenting either the defect, or the injury of the Duke of *Hereford*, whom they exceedingly favoured: others laughing at the conceit of the King: first in crying, and afterwards in frustrating so great an expectation: wherein hee seemed to doe not much unlike *Caligula*, who lying in *France* with a great army neere the Sea shoare, gave the signe of battell, for his men in array, marched forth as if it had beene to some great piece of service and suddenly commanded them all to gather cockles.

Then

Then the Heralds cried againe,
 Yes: and the Secretary did read
 out how the King had likewise or-
 dained, that *Thomas Mowbray Duke*
of Norfolk, because hee had sowne
 sedition, by words whereof hee
 could make no proole should a-
 void the Realme of *England*, and
 never returne againe, upon paine of
 death: and that the King would take
 the profits and revenues of his lands,
 untill hee had received such summes
 of money as the Duke had taken
 up, for wages of the garrison of *Ca-*
lwy which was still unpaid: and that
 the King prohibited, upon paine of
 his grievous displeasure, that any
 man should make suit or intreaty to
 him, on the behalfe of either of these
 two Dukes.

The sentences being in this sort
 pronounced, the King called the
 two dukes before him, and tooke
 of them an oath, That they should
 not converse together in forraine
 Regions, nor one willingly come in
 place where the other was: fearing

(as

(as it was like) least their Common discontentment should draw them, first to reconciliation, and afterward to revenge. But this policy was over weak for this purpose: for oaths are commonly spurned aside, when they lye in the way, either to honour or revenge: and if their united forces was so much to be regarded, their seperate powers was not altogether to be contemned.

Therefore, the latter Princes of this Realme, have with more safety wholly abolished the use of abjuration and exile: and doe either by death extinguish the power, or by pardon alter the will of great Offenders; from entering into desperate and dangerous attempts: which men in misery and disgrace have more vehemency to begine, and more obstinacy to continue.

When the *Scammies* had once

So enclosed the Romans Legions
within certain streights, that they left
them neither space to fight, nor way
to fly: but without force enforced
them to yeeld: they sent to *Floren-
tius Pontius*, an aged Ruler of their
State, for his advise, what were best
for them to doe: his answer was,
that the Romans should be permitted
to dep. rt, without any hurt, losse or
scorne. This pleased not such as were
either covetous for spoyle, or cruell
for blood: and therefore they sent an-
to him the second time, who then
returned answer, that the Romans
should be put to the sword, and not
one man suffered to escape. The
contrariety of these two counsels
brought the old man into suspition
of dotage: but he coming in per-
son to the Campe, maintained both to
be good: the first whereof (which he
thought best) would by unexpected
flavour, provoke the Romans to a
perpetuall friendship: the second
would deferre the warres for many
yeares, wherein the enemies should

H

hardly

hardly recover strength: third counsaile there was none that safely might be followed. Yes / said the *Sammies* / to grant them their lives, yet with such conditions of spoyle and shame, as the lawes of victory doe lay upon them. This is the way / answered *Hortensius* / which neither winneth friends, nor weakeneth enemies: but will much encrease the fury against us, and nothing diminish the force. And even so; in matters of more particularity, that course of punishment is out of course, which doth neither reclaim the mind of men, nor reſtaine the might from malicious endeavours. But again to our purpose.

The Duke of *Norfolke*, having now got a fall, where he thought to take his rest, repented his enterprife, and utterly condemned his light conceit of the Kings lightnesſe, and so with extreame griefe and anguish of mind, hee departed out of the Realme into *Almaine*; and from thence travelled to *Vence*; where through

through violence of thought and dis-
corment, in short time he ended
his dayes. This sentence and banish-
ment was given against him the
same day of the year; wherein the
Duke of Gloucestre by his wicked
meanes was strangled to death at Ca-
ster.

The Duke of Hereford took his
leave of the King at Elibon,
who there broke away some
yeares of his banishment, and even
offered himselfe to be fawned upon
and thanked, for so odious a benefit.
And this unfortunate aduenture bee
neither bare, but vsingloriously, nor
yet took impatiently; but in the
midst of his misery, retained still his
reputation and honour; shewing no
signe of sorrow or submission in his
countenance, nor letting fall any in-
temperate and unseemly word. The
people as he departed, by heaps flock-
ed about him, some to see, and some
to salute him: lamenting his depar-
ture in such sort, as though their on-
ly light and delight did then forsake

them: not sparing to exclaime, that
it was against the Law of Armes, a-
gainst the custome of the Realme,
and against all right whatsoever, that
he should be exiled, who had done
his honourable endeavour for the
maintenance of his appeale. This
affectiō was the more excessive, for
that the Duke was driven into exile
by occasion of his liberall speeches, a-
gainst the most hatefull persons in all
the Realme: and being the only no-
ble man then alive, of the popular fa-
ction, the love was wholly accumu-
lated upon him, which was before
divided among the rest. And thus
the Duke leaving *England*, tooke
shipping and passed the Seas to Ca-
lice, and from thence went into
France: where he was honourably
entertained by *Charles* the French
King, and found such favour, that hee
should have taken to wife the only
daughter of *John Duke Berrie*, Vn-
cle to the King of *France*, but King
Richard fearing the sequel, if the fa-
vour which was borne to the Duke
of

of Hereford within the Realme, should be strengthened with so great affinity in France, cast such stops in the way, that the marriage did not proceed.

This year the Lawrell trees withered, almost throughout the Realme, & afterwards against all expectation, recovered life and flourished againe. The same year in Christmas holldayes a deepe River which runneth betweene Snodlifforie & Harewood, neare to Bedford, suddenly stayed the streame: so that for three miles in length, the channell was left dry, and no course of water did hinder passage on foot. This was afterwards interpreted to presage, the revolt of the people, and the division which happened the year following: to these wee may adde certaine other prodigies, either forged in that fabulous age, or happening commonly and of course, are then onely noted, when any notable accident doth ensue. When K. Richard brought his first wife out of Brance,

He had no sooner set foot within this Land, but such a tempest did forthwith arise, as had not beene seen many yeeres before: whereby diuers ships within the haven were quashed to pieces, but especially, and first of all, the ship wherein the Queene was carried, this was the rather observed, because such like stormes were likewise stirring, when the King brought his second wife out of *France*, wherein many ships perished, and a great part of the Kings sardago was lost. At Newcastle upon Tyne, as two shipwrights were squaring a piece of Timber, wherefoever they bowed, blood issued forth in great abundance. At one of the Kings palaces, flies swarmed so thicke, that they obscured the ayre: these fought together most fiercely, so that lackeys lay dead upon the ground, and this continued so long, that scarce the third part of them (as it was thought) remained alive, many like accidents are recorded of that time: but I will maintaine

taine

mine neither the truth of them
 nor what they did pretend: being
 a matter wherein most men are ra-
 ther superstitious, then not credulous,
 and doe oftentimes repute common
 occurrences to be ominous, when
 any strange event doth ensue. Yet as
 I am loath to avouch any vaine and
 trifling matter, so dare I not detract
 all truth from things anciently re-
 ported; although done in an age
 wherein was some delight in lying,
 many doe suppose, that those things
 which are fatally allotted, though
 they never be avoyded, yet some-
 times are foretold: not so much
 that we may prevent them, as that
 wee should prepare our selves a-
 gainst them.

In the two and twenty yeare of
 the raigne of K. Richard; John of
 Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster dyed and
 was buried, on the north-side of the
 high altar, of the Cathedrall Chutch
 of S. Paul in London, he was a man
 advised and wary in his passages of
 life, liking better safe courtes with

reason, then happy by chance: of his owne glory, hee was neither negligent, nor ambitiously carefull: towards the King hee carried himselfe in termes honourable enough for a moderate Prince, and yet not so plausible as a vaine man would desire, whereby there never happened to him any extraordinary matter, either in prejudice or preferment. After his death, the Duchie of *Lancaster* did in right devolve to the Duke of *Hereford*, his eldest sonne: but the King (as the nature of man is inclinable, to hate those whom he hath harmed) seized all the Lands and goods which appertained to the Duke of *Lancaster*, into his owne hands, and determined to perpetuate the banishment of Duke *Henry*, his sonne: revoking the Letters Patents, which were graunted to him at his departure: whereby his generall Attornies were enabled to prosecute his causes, and sue Liverie of any inheritance: which during his exile, might fall unto him, his homage being respected

ted for a reasonable fine. The King
supposed his estate more safe, by the
weaknesse and want of the Duke,
whom he had now in some jealousie
and doubt: but these violent deal-
ings were meant rather to provoke
his mischiefes, then to prevent them;
for by injurious suppressing of the
Dukes greatness, he greatly augmen-
ted the same.

Edmund Duke of Yorke, the Kings
only Voele which remained alive,
had hitherto enforced his patience, to
endure many things against his liking:
but now either in disdain of this in-
dignity, or in distrust both of his own
safety and of the common tranquillity
of the Realme, he retired himselfe
with the Duke of *Gloucester* his
sonne, to his house at *Langley*:
supposing privatenesse to be the best
defence, both from danger and blame,
wher neither the king had judgement
to discern, nor any about him
had, either heart or honesty to
admonish him what was done
amiss, so that he had an honourable
fleeing.

small was held suspected) and a good
 life more to hazard then a liad: pro-
 telling that none of these practices,
 were either devised by his counsaile,
 or done by his consent: which bene-
 20 At this time, the whole frame of
 the state was much shaken, and mat-
 ters of great weight and moment
 did hang by a very slender thred. The
 King was plunged in pleasure and
 sloth: after whose example, others
 also (as men doe commonly con-
 forme their minds according to the
 Princes disposition) gave over
 themselves to delicacy and ease:
 whereby cowardise crept in, and
 slipperie was made, both of man-
 hood and glory. The chiefest af-
 faires of state had bene ordered for
 a long time, according to private
 respects, whereby the Common-
 wealth lost both the fat and the fi-
 30 vour, and decaying not at salons and
 by degrees, but with a maine course,
 and at once to ruine, and fall. The
 north parts were many times in-
 vaded, and by small yet often losses,
 40 almost

almost consumed by the French, who
had there taken many towncs and
castles, and defaced all the country
with slaughter and spoyle. Like-
wise the south parts were of late
times wasted by the Frenchmen's
and in France many strong holds
were lost. It was also constantly as-
sured, that the King made agree-
ment to deliver unto the King of
France the possession of Gales, and
of other townes which hee held in
those parts; but the performanc
thereof was resisted by the Lords:
whether this were true or surmised
probably, is agreeable to the Kings
loose government. I cannot cer-
tainly affirme. As for Ireland, which
in time of K. Edward the third, was
kept in order and awe, by acquaint-
ing the people with religion and ex-
cellency, and drawing them to delight
in the plenty and pleasures of well
reclaimed countries; whereby it
yielded to the Kings coffers thirty
thousand pounds every year: it was
then suffered to runne into waste,
and

and the people by riddence became
intractable: so that the holding thereof
charged the King, with the yearly
dispende of thirty thousand markes.
Many succours had bene sent into
these severall countries, but scatter-
ingly, and dropping, and never so
many at once, as so far as the wars
fully. The King made some expedi-
tions in his owne person, with great
preparation and charge: but being
once out of credit, whatsoever fell
out well, was attributed to others;
misfortunes were imputed onely to
him. If any thing were happily at-
chieved by some of the Nobility, it
was by the Kings base hearted Para-
sites, to whom military vertue was
altogether unpleasant, so extenuated
or depraved, or envied, that it was
seldome rewarded: so much as
with countenance and thanks: yea
sometimes it provoked suspicion and
danger, the King being informed by
a cunning kind of enemies, Com-
menters, that to be a discrete and va-
liant Commander in the field, was a
vertue

virtue peculiar to a Prince; and that it was a perillous point, to have the name of a man of private estate, famous for the same in every mans mouth. Hereupon, few sought to rise by vertue and valour; the readier way was, to please the pleasant humour of the Prince. Likewise matters of peace, were managed by men of weakest sufficiency, by whose counsell either ignorant or corrupt, the destruction of the best hearted Nobility, was many times attempted, and at the last wrought. The profits and revenues of the Crowne were said to bee let to farms, the King making himselfe Landlord of his Realme, and challenging no great priviledge by his Raigne, but only a dissolute and uncontrouled life. Great summes of money were yearly rather exacted from the subjects, then by them voluntarily granted: whereof no good did ensue, but the maintenance of the Kings private delights, & the advancement of his hateful favorites. To these he was somewhat above

bove his power liberall: for which
cause, hee was saide to borrow, beg,
and extort in other places: but hee
purchased not so much love by the
one, as hate by the other. Besides
the ordinary tearmes of tenths and
fifteenths, which were many times
paid double in one ycare, divers new
impositions were by him devised
and put in use: sometimes exacting
xiij. d. of every person throughout
the Realme: sometimes of every
religious man and woman viij. xiij. d.
and of every secular Priest as much,
and of every lay person married or
sole xiij. d. Under the favourable
tearme of benevolence, he wiped a-
way from the people such heaps of
money, as were little answerable to
that free and friendly name. He bor-
rowed in all places of the Realme
great summes of money upon his
privy Seale, so that no man of worth
could escape his loane: but he sel-
dome, and to few, returned payment
again.

This present yere, he sent certain

Bishops, and other personages of honour, to all the shires and Corporations within the Realme, to declare unto the people the Kings heavy displeasures against them, for that they had bene helpers and complices of the Duke of Gloucester, and of the Earles of Arundell and Warwick: and that the King was minded to make a roade upon them, as common enemies, except they would acknowledge their offence, and submit themselves to his mercy and grace. Hereupon, all the men of worth in every shire, and Towne corporate, made their acknowledgement and submission in writing under their seals: and afterwards were faine to graunte unto the King such importable summes of money, to purchase against his shire, as his and being already greatly impoverished, they were hardly able to endure. Then were crafted of them strings and uncustomed othes, which were put likewise in writing under their seals. They were also compelled to

set their hands and seales to blank charters, wherein the King might afterwards cause to be written what he would: so that all the wealth of the Realme was in a manner at his devotion and pleasure. These and such like violences, were farre wide from the moderate government of King Henry the second: who maintaining great warres, and obtayning a larger dominion, then pertained at any other time to this Realme of *England*, never demanded subsidie of his subjects: and yet his treasure after his death, was found to be nine hundred thousand pounds, besides his Jewels, and his plate.

In this sort the King bearing a heaue hand upon his subjects, and they againe, a heaue heart against him, and being withall a Prince weake in action, and not of valour sufficient to beare out his vices by might, the people at length resolved to revolt, and rather to runne into the hazard of a ruinous rebellion, then to endure safety joynd with slavery:

laverie: so they attended occasion,
which shortly after was thus offered.
The King received Letters of adver-
tisement out of *Ireland* (which being
priviledged from other venomous
beasts, hath alwayes beene pestered
with traytors) how the Barbarous
Irish had cut in pieces his Garrison,
and slaine *Roger Mortimer* Earle of
March, (who had beene declared
heire apparent to the Crowne) exer-
cising all the cruelty in wasting of
the countrey, which wrath and rage
of victory could incite a barbarous
people to practise. This losse being
great in it selfe, the hard affliction of
the people did much augment by re-
port: whereupon the King delibera-
ted, whether it were requisite that
hee should undertake the warre in
person, or commit it to Commanders
of lower degree? Some perswaded
him, that wholly to subdue *Ireland*,
stood neither with policie, nor yet al-
most with possibility: for if it were ful-
ly & quietly possessed, some governor
might hap to grow to that greatnesse,

as to make himselfe absolute Lord thereof; and therefore it was better to hold it certaine by weake enemies, then suspected by mighty friends, and yet by what meanes should those bogges and those woods be overcome, which are more impregnable, then the walled Townes of other countries? then if the purpose were, only to repress the savage people, the warre was of no such weight, as should draw the King, to stand in the field: and therefore he might stay in the West parts in *England*, and from thence make shew of the Princely puissance and state, neither venturing his person without cause, and already at hand if need should require. Others were of opinion, that to subdue and replenish *Ireland*, was a matter neither of difficulty nor danger: but both profitable and honourable to the King, and to God very acceptable. For if credit might be given to ancient Histories, this Realme of *England* was once as insuperable with bogs and woods,

in Ireland was then : but the Roman Conquerors kept not their prætorian Souldiers in idle garrison, whereby many times the mind grew mutinous, and the body diseased, and both unable for the labour and hardnesse of the field : but they held as well them, as the subdued Britains continually exercised, either in building of townes in places of best advantage ; or in making of High wayes : or else in drayning and paving of bogs : by which meanes the countrey was made fruitfull and habitable, and the people learned the good manners, not rudely to repulse the flattering assaults of pleasure ; preferring subjection with plenty, before beggerly and miserable liberty. That the same Romans also kept many larger Countries in quiet obedience, (so long as they were quiet among themselves) without either feare or danger of any Governours ; first by dividing them into small Provinces : Secondly by constituting in every province divers officers, as Lieutenants

tenants and Procurators, whereof one was able to restrain the other; the first having power over the bodies of the subjects, the second over their goods: thirdly, by changing these officers every yeare: which was too short a time to establish a sovereignty: Lastly, by retaining at *Rome*, their wives and children, and whole private estate, as pledges for their true demeanour. That the danger was rather to bee feared, lest a weake enemy whilst he was condemned, should gather strength, and be able to stand upon termes of withstanding: example hereof happened when the *Romans* overcame this Island: for many Britaines, who upon no conditions would abide bondage, withdrew themselves into the North parts of the land, and by maintaining their ancient custome of painting their bodies, were called of the *Romans*, *Picti*: these were neglected along time, and held in scorn, as neither of force, nor of number to be thought worthy the name of enemies

mies: but afterwards they confederated themselves with other people, and so sharply assaulted the subdued Brittaines, that being unable to resist, and the Romans shrinking from them, they were constrained to desire helpe of the Saxons, and so betwene their enemies and their aids, (being set as it were betwixt the bee-le and the blocke) they lost the possession of the best part of their land. That it was a pittifull policy for assurance of peace, to lay all waste as a wilderness, and to have dominion over trees and beasts, and not over men. That hereby the King did loose the revenue of a fruitfull countrey, and the benefit of weakly subjects, which are the surest treasure that a prince can have. That hereby also the majesty of his estate was much impaired: for (as *Salomon* saith) *The honour of a king consisteth in the multitude of subjects.* That the country being unfurnished of people, was open to all opportunity of forrain enemies. That if none of these respects would move:

move: yet the King was bound in duty to reduce those savages to the true worship of God, who did them either prophanely contemne him, or superstitiously serve him.

These reasons so weighed with the King, that hee gathered a mighty Army, determining to goe in person into *Ireland*, and to pacifie the countrey before his returne: but all his provision was at the charge of the subjects: and whereas in time of sedition, a wise Prince will least grieve his people: as seeming to stand in some sort at their courteisie, and having to employ their bodies beside the King in peace no storer for war, was forced to offend, when he should have bene most carefull to winne favour. So about Whitsontide, hee set forth on his voyage with many men, and few souldiers: being a dissolute and untrained company, and out of all compasse of obedience, hee carried with him his whole treasure, and all the goods and ancient Jewels appertaining to the Crowne. In his

his company went the Duke of *Ac-
wille*, and the Duke of *Exeter*, and
divers other noble men; and many
Bishops, and the Abbot of *Westm-
ster*. Hee also tooke with him the
sonnes of the Duke of *Glan-
cester*, and of the Duke of *Hereford*; whose
favourers he chiefly feared.

When he came to *Bristol*, he was
put into suspicion, (whether upon
some likelihood, or meer malice)
that *Henry Pierce*, Earle of *Nor-
thumberland*, and certaine others, en-
tended some disloyall enterprise a-
gainst him: And for that cause did
not follow him into *Ireland*, but had
sundry friendship with the King of
Scots, upon purpose to retire them-
selves into his countrey, if their at-
tempts should faile. Hereupon the
King sent message that the Earle
should forthwith come unto him
with all the power, that he could
conveniently make. The Earle re-
turned answer, that it was unnecessa-
ry in respect of that service, to draw
men from such distant places: For
the

the Irish rebels were neither so many nor so mighty, but the King had strength at hand sufficient to suppress them: that it was also dangerous to disfigure the North-parts of their forces, and to offer opportunity to the Scottish Borderers, who were alwayes uncertaine friends in their extremities, and assured enemies upon advantage. The King seeing his commandement in these termes, both contemned and controuled; would not stand to reason the matter with the Earle, neither had he the reason to deferre vengeance, until hee had full power to worke it: but presently in the violence of his fury, caused the Earle and his confederates to be proclaimed traytors, and all their Lands and goods to be seized to his use. The Earle tooke grievously this disgrace, and determined to cure and close up this harme with the disturbance of the common state. And thus the King having feathered these arrowes against his owne breast, passed forth in his Journey into Ireland: *more than*

This

This expedition at the first proceeded and succeeded exceedingly well, and the King obtained many victories, even without battell, as leading his men to a slaughter rather then to a fight: for the savage *Irish* were not under one government, but were divided into many partialities and factions, and seldome did two or three parts joyne their Common strength and study together: so whilst one by one did fight, all of them were either subdued or slaine. But these newes little rejoiced the Common people, they lusted not to listen thereto: their common talke was to recount their common grievances, to lay them together, and aggravate them by construction: every man more abounding in complaints then hee did in miseries. Also the Noble men (the principall object of cruelty) beganne to discourse both their private dangers, and the deformities of the State: and upon opportunity of the Kings absence, some of them did conspire to cut off

I that

that authority which would not be confined, and to cast it upon some other, who was most like to repaire that which King *Richard* had runned: or if (said they) our power shall come short of so good a purpose, yet will wee sell him both our lives and lands with glory in the field, which with certainty in peace wee cannot enjoy: The onely man upon whom all men resolved, was *Harry Duke of Hereford* (whom since the death of his Father they called Duke of *Lincolne*) not at his owne motion or desire, but because hee was generally esteemed meet: as being of the Royall bloud, and next by descent from males to the succession of the Crowne: one that had made honourable prooffe of his vertues and valour: the onely man of note that remained alive, of those that before had stood in armes against the King for the behoofe of the Commonwealth: for which cause hee was deeply touched at that time both in honour and in state. This attempt
plea-

pleased as possible to prove, and of necessity to be followed: whereupon they secretly dispatched their letters to the Duke, soliciting his speedy returne into England, and declaring that as well for the benefit of the Realme, as for their owne particular safety, they were forced to use force against King Richard: that if it would please him to make the head, they would furnish him the body of an able army, to expell the King from his unfortunate government, and to settle the possession of the Crowne in him, who was more apt and able to sustaine the same: that they would not provide him a base multitude onely, and they themselves helpe in bare with sword and aduise, but would also adioyne their hands and their liues, so that the perill should be common to all, the glory onely his: if fortune favoured the enterprise. These letters were conveyd by men crafty and bold, yet of sure credit, and inwardly in trust with the Duke: who passing into France, first associated

unto them, *Thomas Arundel* late Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and at that time (whether deservedly or without cause) an exile in *France*: then they travelled by severall wayes, and in counterfeit attire to *Paris*, where all met at the House of one *Clugney*, where the Duke then sojourned. After some courtesies of course, with welcome on the one side, and thanks on the other, and joy of both: the Archbishop of *Canterbury* having obtained of the Duke privacy and silence, made unto him a solemne oration in these words, or to this sense following.

Wee are sent unto you (right high and Noble Prince) from the chiefe Lords and States of our land, not to seeke revenge against our King upon private injury and displeasure: nor upon a desperate discontentment to set the State on fire: nor to procure the ambitious advancement of any particular person: but to open unto you the deformities and decayes of our broken estate, and to de-

fire

fire your aid, in staying the ruinous
downfall of the same. The remem-
brance of the honourable reputation
that our Countrey hath borne, and
the Noble acts which it hath atchie-
ved, doth nothing else, but make the
basenesse more bitter unto us, where-
into it is new fallen. Our victorious
armes have heretofore beene famous
and memorable not onely within the
bounds of our Ocean Sea, and in the
Lands adjoyning *us*; but also in
France, in *Spaine*, and in other parts
of *Europe*, yea in *Asia* and in *Africk*,
against the Infidels and Barbarians:
so that all Christian Princes have
beene either glad to imbrace our
friendship or loath to provoke us to
hostility. But now the rude *Scots*,
whose spirits we have so many times
broken & brought on their knees, do
scornefully insult upon us: the naked
and fugitive *Irish*, have shaken off our
shackles, and glutte themselves up-
on us, with massacres and spoiles:
with these wee dayly fight, not for
glory, but to live: inasmuch as we are

become a pitty to our friends, and a
very jealt to our most base and con-
temptible enemies. Indeed the King
hath both lent and led great armies
into these Countries, but in such sort,
that they have much wasted the
Realme with their maintenance:
but neither revenged nor relieved
it with their armes: and no mervaine,
for all our diligent and discret lea-
ders (the very sinewes of the field)
are either put to death, or banished, or
else ly buried in obscurity and dis-
grace: and the managing of all af-
faires is committed (without any
respect of sufficiency or desert) to
the counsaile and conduct of those
who can best apply themselves to the
Kings youthfull delights. Among
these ancient Nobility is accompted
avaime jealt; wealth; and vertue are
the ready meanes to bring to destru-
ction.

It grieves mee to speake, but it
helpeth not, to hide that which eve-
ry man seeth: our Ancestours lived in
the highest pitch and perfection of
liberty;

liberty, but wee of servility; being in the nature not of subjects, but of abjects, and flat slaves; not to one intractable Prince onely, but to many proud and disdainfull favorites: not alwayes the same, but ever new: and no sooner have wee satisfied some, but fresh hungry Masters are streight wayes set upon us, who have more endamaged us by extortion and bribes, then the enemy hath done by the sword. What unusuall kinds of exactions are dayly put in practise without either measure or end, & oftentimes without need; or if any be, it proceedeth rather upon riotous expenses, then any necessity of honourable charge: and great summes of money are pulled and pilled from good subjects, to bee throwne away amongst unprofitable unthrifs. And if any man openeth his mouth against these extorted taxations, then either by feined imputation of capitall crimes, or by small matters aggravated, or else by open cruelty and force, his life or liberty is forth with

hazarded. It were too tedious, too odious, too frivolous to put you in mind of particular examples, as though your owne estate, and the lamentable losse of your Vncle, and other Noble friends, could bee forgotten: yea I suppose that there is no man of quality within the Realme, who either in his owne person, or in his neere friends, doth not plainly perceive, that no man enjoyeth the safeguard of his goods, and suerty of his body; but rich men in the one, and great men in the other are continually endangered. This then is our case; but what is our remedy? we have endured, and we have entreated: but our patience have drawne more heavy burthens, and our complaints procured more bitter blowes: by the one, our livings, and our lives by the other are dayly devoured. And therefore we are now compelled to shake off our shoulders this importable yoke, and submit our selves to the sovereignty of some more moderate and worthy person: not so much for the
griefe

griefe of our miseries which are past,
 nor for the paine of our present dis-
 stresses, as for feare of such dangers as
 are most like to ensue; for the King
 hath cut away the chiefe of the No-
 bility, and the Commons he hath pa-
 red to the quick, and still he harrieth
 us as a conquered Country: whereby
 we are laid bare to the havock of all
 our enemies, and utterly disabled, not
 only to recover that which is lost, but
 also to retain even that which is left.
 But to whom should we complaine?
 what succour, whose aid should we
 desire? you are the onely man, who in
 right should, and in wisdom can,
 and in goodnesse will (we hope) re-
 lieve us. For you are neere to the
 King in blood, and therefore ought to
 have the rule of that which his weak-
 nesse cannot wield. Your yeares are
 well stayed from the light conceits
 of youth, and so spent, that all your a-
 ctions have made prooffe of ability in
 government of greatest charge: no-
 thing past needeth excuse, and feare is
 vain for any thing to come. The pains

and perils which heretofore you have undertaken for the benefit of your Country, putteth us also in good hope, that in these extremities you will not forsake us; we are all as in a ship that is ready to sinke, as in a house that is ready to fall, and doe most humbly crave and call for your helpe, now or els never shew your selfe in favour of your Countrymen, to free us, to free your selfe, to free the whole State from these dangers and decayes, by taking into your hands the scepter and diademe of the Realme, and reducing againe the government thereof to a Princely freedom, by combining the Sovereignty of one with the liberty of all. Omit not this occasion, to set forth to the view of the World, as in a large field, and at free scope your vertue and courage, by relieving miserable wretches from their Oppressours: which action hath bin so highly honoured, that many Heathen men for the same, have beene accounted as Gods. This we are constrained to offer

fer and intreat: this is both honourable for you to accept, and easie to be performed and so much the more, in that no Prince, by any people have beene desired with greater affection, nor shall bee with more duty obeyed.

The Duke entertained this speech with great moderation of mind, shewing himselfe neither disturbed therat, nor excessive in joy: his answer concerning the King, was respectiue and well tempered, rather lamenting his weaknesse then blaming his malice. Concerning himselfe hee spake so modestly, that hee seemed rather worthy of a Kingdom, then desirous. The life (quoth hee) which hitherto I have led, hath alwayes beene free from ambitious attempts: and the staydnesse of my yeeres, hath now sealed my mind from aspiring thoughts: & experience of former dangers hath bred in mee a way regard in such weighty proceedings; for to cast a King out of state, is an enterprise not basely to be resol-

resolved upon, nor easily affected: but
suppose that matter not impossible;
and perhaps not hard, yet the rate-
nesse of that like precedents, will
make the action seeme injurious to
most men: and hee that shall attaine a
Kingdome upon opinion of desert,
doth charge himselfe with great
expectation, and how honourably
foever hee carry himselfe, shall never
want his deadly Enviars: besides
this, in civill dissentions the faith of
the whole people is fleeting, and
danger is to bee doubted from every
particular person: so that it is possible
that all may fall away, and impossible
to beware of every one. Therefore I
could rather wish to spend the course
of my yeares which yet remaine in
this obscure, yet safe and certaine
state, then to thrust my selfe upon the
pikes of those perils, which being
once entred into, are dangerous to
follow, and deadly to forsake: for in
private attempts, a man may step and
stop when hee please: but hee that
aimeth at a Kingdome, hath no mid-
dle

the course betwene the life of a Prince, and the death of a Traytour.

The Archbishop hearing this, did as vainely persist in importuning the Duke, as hee vainely seemed unwilling and strange. The Duke (said hee) wherein now you stand, is not so safe and certaine as you doe conceive. Indeed, by rejecting our request you shall avoid certaine dignity, and therewith uncertaine and contingent dangers; but you shall procure most certaine destruction both to your selfe and us. For this secret cannot bee kept long secret from the King: and even good Princes are nice in points of soveraignty, and beare a nimble eare to the touch of that string: and it more hurteth a subject to be esteemed worthy of the Kingdom, then it will profit him to have refused the offer. What then will hee doe, who putteth the chiefest surety of his raigne in the basenesse & barrenesse of his subjects? whose head being possessed with eternall jealousy, maketh every presumption a proesse, and

and every light surmise a strong
 suspicion against them. Surely since
 the generall favour and love which
 the people beareth you, hath bereaved
 you of your liberty, this their generall
 desire will not leave your life un-
 touched. As for us, if wee either faint
 in our intent, or faile in the interpret, *affirm*
 of: we shall be as lambs among
 lions: and no conquest can be so cru-
 ell as the Kings raigne will bee over
 us. Certainly we have gone too far,
 for to goe back; and the time is past,
 when you for ambition and wee for
 envy might seeme to attempt against
 the King: the attainment of the King-
 dome must now be a Sanctuary and
 refuge for us both. The like examples
 are not rare (as you affirme) nor long
 since put in practise, nor farre hence
 to be fetched. The Kings of *Denmarke*
 and of *Sweden*, are oftentimes
 banished by their Subjects; often-
 times imprisoned and put to their
 death; the Princes of *Germany* about an
 hundred yeares past, deposed *of*
 by their Emperours and are now in
 hand

and to depose their Emperour
conceit. The Earle of Floures
was a while since driven out of his
Dominion by his owne people, for
usurping greater power then apper-
tained to his estate. The ancient Bri-
tains chased away their owne King
Caradoc, for the lewdnesse of his
life, and cruelty of his rule. In the
time of the Saxon Heptarchy, Bern-
ce, King of Mercia, for his pride and
frowines towards his people, was
by them deposed. Likewise Alfre-
d and Ethelbert Kings of Nor-
thumberland, were for their murders
expelled by their subjects. Since the
victory of the Normans, the Lords
endeavoured to expell King Henry
the third, but they were not able: yet
were they able to depose King Ed-
ward the second, and to constitute
his young Sonne Edward King in his
stead: there are not all, and yet enough
to shew this action of rarenesse in
other Countries; and novelty in our.
The difficulty indeed is somewhat,
because the excellency is great:

but they that are afraid of every bush, shall never take the bird: and your selfe had once some triall hereof, when without battaile, without bloud or blowes, you had the King at such a list, as hee held his Crowne at your courtesie; even at that time when his grievances were, neither for greatnesse nor continuance, so intollerable as now they are growne; and by reason of his tender yeares, not out of all compasse, both of excuse for the fault, and of hope for amendment. And as concerning the lawfulnessse.

Nay (saide the Duke) where necessity doth inforce, it is superfluous to use speech, either of easinesse or of lawfulnessse: necessity will beate thorow brasen walles; and can bee limited by no lawes. I have felt very deeply my part in these calamities, and I would you knew with what grieve I have beheld yours: for what other reward have I received, of all my travailes and services, but the death of my Vncle & dearest friends,
my

my owne banishment, the imprisonment of my Children, and losse of my inheritance? and what have beene returned to you, for your blood so often shed in his unfortunate warres, but continuall tributes, scourges, gallowes, and slavery? I have made sufficient proofe both of patience in my owne miseries, and of pittie in yours: remedy them hitherto I could not: If now I can, I will not refuse to sustaine that part, which your importunity doth impose upon mee, if wee prevaile, we shall recover againe our liberty: if we loose, our State shall bee no worse then now it is: and since we must needs perish, either deservingly, or without cause, it is more honourable to put our selves upon the adventure either to winne our lives, or to dye for desert: and although our lives were safe, which indeed are not, yet to abandon the State, and sleepe still in this slavery; were a point of negligence and sloath. It remaineth then, that wee use both secrecy and celerity, laying hold upon the

the oportunity which the Kings absence hath now presented unto us for in all enterprises which never are commended before they bee achieved, delayes are dangerous, and more safe it is to bee found in action, then in counsaile: for they that deliberate onely to rebell, have rebelled already.

So the Messengers departed into *England*, to declare the Dukes acceptance, and to make preparation against his arrivall, both of armie, and of subjection, and desire to obey. Presently after their departure, the Duke signified to *Charles* King of *France*, that hee had a desire to goe into *Britaine*, to visite *John* Duke of *Britaine* his friend and kinsman. The King suspecting no further fetch, sent letters of commendation in his favour, to the Duke of *Britaine*: but if hee had firmised any dangerous drift against King *Richard*, who not long before, had taken his Daughter to wife, in stead of letters of safe conduct, hee would have found

bound letters to have kept him safe
from disturbing his Sonne in lawes
estate.

As soone as the Duke was come
into Britaine, hee waged certaine
souldiers, and presently departed
Calles, and so committed to Sea for
England; giving forth, that the one
purpose of his voyage, was to reco-
ver the Duchy of Lancaster, and the
rest of his lawfull inheritance, which
the King wrongfully detained from
him. In this company was *Thomas*
Arundel the Archibishop of *Canter-*
bury and *Thomas* the Sonne and Heire
of *Richard* late Earle of *Arundel*,
who was very young, and had a lit-
tle before escaped out of prison, and
fled into France to the Duke. The
residue of his attendants were very
few, not exceeding the number of
fiftene lances: so that it is hard to e-
steeeme whether it was greater mar-
valle, either that he durst attempt, or
that he did prevaile with so small a
company: but his chiefest confidence
was in the favour and assistance of
the

the people within the Realme. So he did beare with *England*, yet not in a streight course, but floated along the shoare, making head sometimes to one coast, and sometime to another, to discover what forces were in a readines either to resist or receive him.

As he was in this sort hovering on the Seas, Lord *Edmund Duke of Yorke*, the Kings Vncle, to whom the King had committed the custody of the Realme during the time of his absence, called unto him *Edmund Stafford* Bishop of *Chichester*, Lord Chancellour, and *William Scroupe* Earle of *Wiltshire*, Lord Treasurour of the Realme, also *Sir Iohn Bushy*, *Sir Henry Greene*, *Sir William Bagot*, *Sir Iohn Russell*, and certaine others of the Kings Privy Councell; and entred into deliberation what was best to be done. At the last it was concluded, deceitfully by some, unskilfully by others, and by all perniciously for the King; to leave the Sea coasts, and to leave *London*, the very *Walles* and
Castle

Castle of the Realme, and goe to *S. Albons*, there to gather strength sufficient to encounter with the Duke. It is most certain that the Dukes side was not any wayes more furthered, then by this dissembling and deceivable dealing: for open hostility and armes, may openly and by armes be resisted: but privy practises as they are hardly espied, so are they seldome avoided. And thus by this meanes the Duke landed about the feast of *S. Martin*, without let or resistance, at *Ravenspur* in *Houldernesse*, as most Writers affirme.

Presently after his arrivall, there resorted to him Lord *Henry Percy* Earle of *Northumberland*, and Lord *Henry* his Sonne, Earle of *Westmerland*, Lord *Radulph Nevil*, Lord *Rose*, Lord *William*, and many other personages of honour, whose company increased reputation to the cause, and was a great countenance and strength to the Dukes further purposes. And first they took of him an oath, that he should neither procure

nor

nor permit any bodily harm: to be
 done unto King Richard; whereupon
 they bound themselves upon their
 honours to prosecute all extremities
 against his mischievous Counsaillors.
 And this was one step further then
 that which the Duke pretended at
 the first, when hee tooke shipping at
 Calie, which was onely the recovery
 of his inheritance: but that was as yet
 not determined, nor treated, and of
 some perhaps not thought upon;
 which after wards it did ensue: and
 so was that place easily insinuated
 into by degrees, which with force
 and direct violence would hardlier
 haue bene obtained. Then the com-
 mon people desperate upon new de-
 sires, and without head, head long to
 matters of innovation, flocked very
 fast to these Noble men, who were
 lost for love, to the Common-
 wealth: some upon a wanton lusty
 and vaine desire of change, others in
 regard of their own distressed and
 decayed estate, who placing their
 chief hope and desires upon a
 gene-

generall disturbance, were then most
safe when the common state was
most unsure. So betweene the one
and the other, the multitude did in
short time increase to the num-
ber of three score thousand able soul-
diers.

The Duke finding this favour not
only to exceed his expectation, but
even above his wish; hee thought it
best to follow the current whilst
the streame was most strong, know-
ing right well, that if fortune be fol-
lowed, as the first doe fall out, the
rest will commonly succeed. There-
fore cutting off unnecessary delays,
with all possible celerity hee hastened
towards *London*: to the end that pos-
sessing himselfe thereof as the chiefe
place within the Realme, both for
strength and store, hee might there
make the seat of the warre. In this
journey no signe nor shew of hostili-
ty appeared, but all the way as hee
passed, the men of chiefe quality
and power adjoynd themselves un-
to him, some upon heat of affection,
some

some for feare, others upon hope of reward after victory; every one upon causes dislike; with like ardent desire contending, least any should seeme more forward then they: In every place also where hee made stay, rich gifts and pleasant devises were presented unto him, with large supply both of force and provision, farre above his need: and the Common people which for their greatnesse take no care of publique affaires, and are in least danger by reason of their basenesse, with shouts and acclamations gave their applaus: extolling the Duke, as the onely man of courage, and saluting him King; but spending many contumelious termes upon King *Richard*, and depraving him as a simple and sluggish man, a dastard, a meycock, and one altogether unworthy to beare rule; shewing themselves as much without reason in railing upon the one, as they were in flattering the other. Again, the Duke for his part was not negligent to uncover the head, to bow

bow the body, to stretch forth the
hand to every meane person, and to
use all other complements of popular
behaviour: wherewith the minds of
the common multitude are much de-
lighted and drawen; taking that to
be courtesie, which the severer sort
account abasement. When he came
to the Citty, hee was there likewise
very richly and royally entertained,
with processions and pageants, and
vers other triumphant devises and
shewes: the standing in all the streets
where hee passed, were taken up to
behold him; and the unable multi-
tude, who otherwise could not, yet by
their good words, wishes, and wils,
did testifie unto him their loving affe-
ctions: neither did there appeare in
any man at that time, any memory of
faith and allegiance towards King
Richard, but as (in seditions it al-
wayes hapneth) as the most swayed
all did goe.

On the contrary side, the Duke of
York with the rest of his counsaile,
fell to mustering of men at *St. Albons*

for the King : but as the people out of diuers quarters were called thither, many of them protested, that they would doe nothing to the harme and prejudice of the Duke of *Lincolne*, who they said was unjustly expelled, first from his countrey, and afterwards from his inheritance. Then *W. Scroope* Earle of *Wiltshire*, Lord Treasurer, *S. J. Bush*, Sir *W. Bagot*, and Sir *Henry Greene*, perceiving the stiffe resolution of the people, forsooke the Duke of *Torke*, and the Lord Chancellor, and fled towards *Bristow*; intending to passe the seas into *Ireland* to the King. These foure were they upon whom the common fame went, that they had taken of the King his Realme to farme : who were so odious unto the people, that their presence turned away the hearts of many subjects; yea it was thought that more for displeasure again't them, then against the King, the revolt was made. For being the only men of credit and authority with the King, under false colour

four of obedience, they wholly governed both the Realme and him; to many mischiefes corrupting his mind, and in many abusing his name, either against his will, or without his knowledge; inasmuch as hee was innocent of much harme which passed under his commandement: but the patience of the people could not endure that two or three should rule all: not by reason they were sufficient; but because they were in favour: and the King in that he permitted them whom hee might have bridled, or was ignorant of that which he should have knowne, by tollerating and winocking at their faults, made them his owne, and opened thereby the way to his destruction. So often times it falleth out to be as dangerous to a Prince to have hurtfull and hatefull officers in place and services of weighe, as to be hurtfull and hatefull himselfe.

The Duke of York either amazed at this sudden change, or fearing his adventures if hee should proceed in

resistance, gave over the cause, and preferred present security, before duty with danger; giving most men occasion to misdeeme by his dealing, that hee secretly favoured the Duke's Enterprise, likewise all the other Counsellors of that side, either openly declared for the Duke, or secretly wished him well: and abandoning all private direction & advise, adjoyned themselves to the common course, presuming thereby of greater safety.

Duke Henry in the meane time being at London, entred into deliberation with his friends, what way were best to be followed. At the last, having considered the forwardnesse of the people, the greatnesse of the perill whereinto they had already plunged, and the Kings irreconcilable nature, whereof hee made prooffe against the Duke of Gloucester, and the Earles of Arundell and Warwicke: they finally resolved to expell him from his dignity, and to constitute Duke Henry King in his stead: and to that end open warre was denounced against

against the King, & against all his part-
takers, as enemies, to the quiet & pro-
sperity of the Realme, and pardon al-
so promised to all those that would
submit themselves to follow the pre-
sent course, otherwise to looke for no
favour, but all extremities. None of
the Nobility durst openly oppose
himselfe to these designes: some un-
willing to play all their state at a cast,
kept themselves at liberty, to be dire-
cted by successe of further event: o-
thers consented coldly, and in terms
of doubtfull construction, with intent
to interpret them afterwards, as oc-
casion should change: but the most
part did directly and resolutely enter
into the cause, and made their for-
tunes common with the Duke; in
danger of the attempt, but not in ho-
nour: among whom, the Duke stand-
ing up, used speech to this purpose:

I am returned here as you see, at
your procurement, & by your agree-
ment have entered into armes for the
common liberty: wee have hither-
to prosperously proceeded, but in

what terrours wee now stand, I am altogether uncertaine. A private man I am loth to be accounted; being designed to be King by you; and a Prince I cannot be esteemed, whilst another is in possession of the Kingdom. Also your name is in suspence, whether to be termed rebels or subjects, untill you have made manifest that your allegiance was bound rather to the state of the Realme then the person of the Prince. Now you are the men who have both caused this doubtfullness and must cleare the same; your parts still remaineth to be performed; your vertue and valour must adde strength to the goodnesse of this action. Wee have already attempted so farr, that all hope of pardon is extinct; so that if we should shrink back, and break off the enterprise, no mercy is to be expected, but butchery and gibbets, and all extremities: if we drive off and delay the accomplishment thereof, wee shall loose the opportunity which now is offered, and open to
our

our enemies occasion of advantage. For the peoples blood is up now on our side, and nothing is wanting but our owne diligence and care: let us not therefore triffe out the time of doing, in talking and deliberating: it is best striking whilst the iron is hot: let us set forth roundly, and possesse our selves with speed of all the parts of the Realme: and so we shall be able either to keepe out our concurrent, or else to entertaine him little to his liking. So troops of men were sent into every quarter of the Realme, to secure them for making strength on the part of King Richard: but the people in all places as men broken with many burthens, did easily entertaine the first Commer, and were not curious to side with the stronger. The Duke pursued those of the Kings Privie Councell, which fled away from the Duke of Yorke; bearing himselfe with great cheare and courage, as confident in the cause, and secure of the event. When he came at Bri-

flow hee found the Castle fortified against him ; but in short time hee forced it, and tooke therein Sir John Busby, Sir Henry Greene, and W. Scroupe, L. Treasurer, a joyfull prey to the common people : who (fearing that if execution should be deferred, Petitions for pardon might happen to prevaile, and so their cruelties and injuries should be answered with the vaine title and commendation of clemency) did violently require them unto death, no respite could be obtained, no defence admitted, no answer heard : yea their humble and submissive intreaty was interpreted to argue a weake and broken courage upon a guilty conscience, which more incensed the rage of the people, crying out that they were traitors, blood-suckers, theeves, and what other hainous tearmes insulting fury did put into their mouthes : at which clamorous and importunant instance, the day following they were beheaded, Sir William Bagot came not with them to *Bristow*, but turned

turned to *Chester*: and the pursuit being made after the most, hee alone escaped into *Ireland*. This execution, partly because it pleased the people, and partly because it excluded all hope of the Kings pardon, caused them to cleave more closely to the Duke; which greatly increased both his glory, and his hope: having offers of so large aid & need of solittle.

In the meane time this newes of the Dukes arrivall, and of other occurrences, part true, part false, & part enlarged by circumstance, (as fame groweth in the going) was blowne over to the King, being then entangled with other broyles in *Ireland*, at the receipt whereof, he caused the sonnes of the Duke of *Glocester*, & of the Duke of *Lancaster* to be imprisoned in the strong Castle of *Trim*, which is in *Ireland*, and for dispatch to returne into *England*, lest many matters unfinished, & most of his provision behind; hastning and shuffling up, as present necessity did enforce. So being both unskillfull

and unfortunate himselfe, and de-
void of good direction; with more
haste then good hap, hee tooke ship-
ping, with the Duke of *Aumery*,
Exeter, and *Surrey*, the Bishops of
London, *Lincolne*, and *Carlisle*, and
many other men of quality: and
crossing the seas, landed at *Milford*
Haven in Wales, in which coun-
trimen he alwayes reposed his chief-
est surety and trust, but then he saw
contrary to his expectation, that as
well there as in all other places, the
people by plumps flocked to the
Duke, & fled from him: yea they that
came with him began for to waver,
no man encouraging them to be con-
stant, but many to revolt. This sud-
daine change not looked for, nor
thought upon, disturbed all the Kings
devises, & made him irresolute what
he should doe: on the one side hee
saw his cause and quarrell to be right,
and his conscience (he said) cleare
from any bad demerite: on the o-
ther side he saw the great strength of
his enemies, and the whole power
of

of the Realme bent against him : and being more abashed by the one, then emboldned by the other, hee stood perplexed in uncertaine termes, either where to stay, or whither to flie, having neither skill nor resolution himselfe in cases of difficulty, and obnoxious to hurifull and unfaithfull counsaile. Some advised him to march forward, and pierce deeper into the land, before his own forces fell from him : affirming that valour is secured by fortune : that this courage of his, would confirme the constancy of his souldiers : and his presence put the people in remembrance of their faith, that in all places he should find some, who for favour, or for hire, or else for duty, would adhere unto him : whereby hee should soone gather strength sufficient to joyne issue with his enemy in the field. Others perswaded him to retire againe into *Ireland*, and then if succour failed him in *England*, to wage souldiers out of other countries. But the King being

being no man of action in military affaires, rejected both the counsailes, as neither venturous enough with the one, nor warie enough with the other: and taking a middle course (which in cases of extremity of all is the worst) hee determined to make stay in *Wales*, and there to attend to what head this humour would rise.

The Duke upon advertisement that the King was landed in *Wales*, removed with a strong Army from *Bristow* towards *Chester*, using the first opportunity against him, and which indeed was the fittest. When Lord *Thomas Percy* Earle of *Warcester*, and Steward of the Kings Household, heard of the Dukes approach, he brake forth into shew of that displeasure which before he had conceived against the King, for proclaiming his brother, the Earle of *Northumberland* traytor, and thereupon openly in the Hall, in the presence of the Kings servants, he brake his white rod, the ensigne of his office,

fice, and forthwith departed to the
 Duke, willing every man to shift for
 himselfe in time: by which act hee
 lost reputation, both with the Haters
 and Favourers of King *Richard*; be-
 ing accounted of the one a Corrupter,
 of the other a Forsaker, and be-
 trayer of the King. After this exam-
 ple, almost all the rest, more fearefull
 then faithfull, scattered themselves
 every one his way: and they who
 in the Kings flourishing time, would
 have contended to be formost, now
 in his declining estate equally draw
 backe, and like swallowes, forsooke
 that house in the winter of fortunes
 boysterous blasts, where they did no-
 thing but feed and foyle in the sum-
 mer of her sweet sun-shine. And
 thus betweene faint souldiers, and
 false friends, the King was abando-
 ned and forsaken, and left almost
 unto himselfe: looke on he might,
 but let it, hee could not, as not of
 force to punish that, which hee
 never forced to prevent: his only re-
 medy was patience: (a cold comfort)

his

his onely revenge was complaint :
(a weake weapon) betweene which
two, his bitterneſſe did in this man-
ner breake from him.

And doe theſe alſo (ſaid he) for-
ſake me ? doth their faith and my
fortune end together ? well, if I had
forſaken them in time, I had not been
forſaken of others, who once loved
me better, and now are able to harme
me more. But now I ſee the blind-
neſſe of my judgement : I plainly
ſee, that there is no friendſhip in flat-
tery, nor treachery in plaine truth ;
and I would I had as much time to
reforme this error : as I am like to
have to repent it, but they would
not ſuffer mee to bee wiſe when I
might, and now they have made me
wretched they runne from me: they
could be the cauſes, but they will not
be companions of my miſeries : ſuch
attendants are Crowes to a carcaſſe,
which flocke together, not to de-
ſend, but to devour it, and no ſoo-
ner have they laid the bones bare, but
ſtraight-wayes they are gone.

Thus

Thus the King having lost both the feare and love of his subjects, disturbed and distracted in thoughts, without comfort, counsell, or courage, remained still in *Wales*, as a stranger at home, as an exile in his owne Kingdome, not daring to goe to *London*, nor any man desirous to come to him, shifting still from place to place, and (as it falls out to men distressed and amazed) fearing all things, but most disliking the present. The Duke continually pursued him with a mighty Army: but the Kings company was too small to do any thing by force, and yet too great to remaine in secret: neither were they in any sort assured unto him, but such as shame and reverence retained a while; bands of small countenance with men fearefull of danger, and carelesse of credit. At the length he came to the Castle of *Conwy*; and there being utterly destitute both of helpe and hope, he stood divided in mind what way to bend his course, all his followers were more ready

ready to impugn the opinions of other, then to give direction themselves, as seeing better what to shun then what to follow: and as it alwayes chanceth in desperate causes, that way was commonly preferred, whereof the opportunity was already past. Some advised him that it was then time to think, rather of saving his life, then recovering his estate. You see (said they) how greatly, and how wholly your subjects are set against you: it is but in vaine to look for a sudden change, or without a change to hope that your purposes may prevail, give place for a time to the current of this fury: let it have the full sway; and when it is at the highest pitch, it will turne againe; and then you shall have the tide as strong on your side, as it is now against you. This motion or rather commotion of the people, is violent and against nature: and therefore (as a stone forced upward) is most strong at the beginning, and the further it passeth, the more it weakeneth, untill at last it returne to the naturall

turall course againe. Therefore give
 a litle space for the bad to draw
 back, for the good to put forward:
 treasons prevaile on the suddaine, but
 good counsailes gather forces by lea-
 sure. You have example in your no-
 ble Progenitor, King *Henry* the third,
 against whom the Lords set up *Lewis*
 the French Kings son: conditions
 were concluded, and faith was made
 that he should be their King; but this
 purpose lasted not the pulling on: for
 before they had possessed him of the
 kingdome, they joyned together in
 armes against him, and were as fierce
 to drive him out of the Realme, as
 they had bene found to draw him in.
 The like alteration may you likewise
 not only hope, but assuredly expect:
 for the minds of men are constant in
 nothing but inconstancy, & persevere
 only in change, in dislike of things pre-
 sent they desire new, wherewith they
 rest not long contented, but are many
 times glatted even with the first
 sight. And indeed how can they
 long endure the Raigne of him,
 who

who attayning the Kingdome onely by their favour and might, shall hold the same in a manner, at their courtesie and will? for every unpleasant command, shall be deemed ingratitude: every suit rejected, shall charge him with unkindnesse: Yet, if honour be not offered, they will be discontented: and upon any occasion of displeasure, thinke themselves as able to displace him, as they were to set him up: therefore you may for a time, returne againe into *Ireland*, or else passe the seas to your Father in law, the King of *France*: you may assure your selfe of his assistance, to set upon your side, and recover your losses. Times have their turnes, and fortune her course too and fro like the sea, and magnanimity is shewne by enduring, and not relinquishing, when she doth crosse, only loose no point of courage, and keepe your person at large: reserving your selfe to that good hope, which never dyeth whilst life endure.

Others, who were enemies to all

coun-

counsaile, whereof themselves were
 not Authors; perswaded the King
 that the Nobility and Commons of
 the Realm had attempted so far, that
 they would rather dye, then desist;
 not so much for hatred to you, as for
 love to themselves; having so deadly
 incensed your displeasure against
 them. For it is a hard matter to
 forgive, and impossible to forget
 those injuries and indignities which
 they have offered. And to omit
 what some Princes have done, what
 all will promise to doe, they will
 soone find fresh and bleeding exam-
 ples what you are like to doe. The
 Duke of Gloucester, and the Earle of
Strondell, and of *Warwick* did rise
 in armes against you, not to remove
 you from your Crowne: but to re-
 move certaine persons from your
 company, an action more displeasing
 then prejudiciall unto you: at the
 last, a friendship was made, and char-
 ters of free pardon granted unto
 them: but what followed? was
 ever the breach perfectly made up?
 did

did displeasure dye? or was it only
dissembled? ah, it grieveth us to
thinke, how the present want of their
lives, hath fully revenged their
deaths: for if they had lived, their
countenance and authority would
easily have stayed these stirs, and the
manner of their deaths doth strike an
obstinate persistance into all your
enemies. As for refuge to forraine
Princes, you shall surely receive of
them entertainment and allowance,
and yet may grow burdensome, and
at last perhaps faile: but it is very
hard to draw any Prince into so dan-
gerous a quarrell: and more hard by
that meanes to prevaile: or if you
should, it is to be feared that the vi-
ctors will hold to themselves the
benefit of their conquest, and not
yeeld it over unto you. Few coun-
tries but have beene under pretence
of ayde by forrainers subdued: and
this was the onely cause which first
drew the Saxons into this land: who
so assisted the Britaines against their
enemies, that themselves could not be

resisted from possessing their kingdome. Yet we do not altogether condemne the helpe of strangers, in cases of extremitie; but doe account it a remedy, least to be trusted, and last of all to be tryed. What then if first you should procure a treaty, to see in what termes the people stand against you? It may be that upon some conditions they will submit themselves unto you, as heretofore they have done. Or if they will needs deforce you from your kingdome, yet if an honourable maintenance may be assured, what shall you lose thereby? What shall you lack? You have no child to be disinherited; the chiefest moīue which maketh men so greedy to get, and so carefull to keepe. And as for your selfe, you shall bee removed from a steep and slippery hill to a smooth and pleasant plain; from tempestuous seas to a calme haven; from dangerous travaile to secure rest; & if there be no solace without safety, no felicity without firmanesse; you shall find the private life not onely more sweet

sweet, but more high and happy, then
your princely state. The tallest trees
are weakest in the tops; in widest
fields are greatest tempests; and en-
vy alwayes aimeth at loftiest marks;
so that to be placed on high, is a false
felicity, and a true misery in this
rule, but indeed a subjection to all
the subjects; having least stay to
stand, and most danger in the fall:
and therefore if you come downe
safely, you are therein priviledged
above many other. But you shall
lose (you will say) the credit and the
countenance of a King: so you shall
the cares, and so you shall the casual-
ties. The Crowne and Scepter are
things most weighty to wield: if a
Prince be good, he is laden with la-
bour; if evil, with infamy and re-
proach: if either, with perils: on
every side hee is beset with dange-
rous Rocks, with deadly Gulfes, and
continually tossed with strong and
fury tempests: so that to be freed
from these feares, is to be esteemed
an escape, and not a losse. This did
the

the Stoick Philosopher perceive, who seeing *Dionysius* sit merily and freely conceited in the Theater, being a little before expelled his Kingdome; greatly condemned the error of his people, who had banished him to such liberty, and so preferred him by his punishment. These are the dreams of Philosophers (you will say) who usually deprave and contemne honour, and yet never lie from honourable mens tables. Let passe then Philosophers: go to vaine and sottish men. *Selenchus* being a King, was wont to say, that if a man knew with what cares the Diadem was clogged, hee would not take it up, although it lay in the street. You will say peradventure, that like the Boar-man, hee looked one way, and pulled another; or like the Lapwing, he cryed most when hee was furthest from his Nest, vainly dispraying that which hee was loathest to loose. What say you then to *Antiochus*? whom when the *Romans* had dispoyled him of all *Asia*, he sent unto them great thanks,

thankes, that they had rid him of infinite and importable cares, and set him at a moderate quiet : you will say that hee made a vertue of his necessity. Well then, wee are somewhat neere your case : and they that cannot frame their wils to this wisdom, let them thanke their enemies for enforcing them to it. But what say you to *Dioclesian* ? who did voluntarily relinquish, not a small and corner Kingdome, but the greatest Empire that the world did ever beare, and found so sweet contentment in that exchange, that when hee was importuned by the Senate, to resume his estate, hee utterly rejected their suite. But what need we travell in externe Histories for those examples, whereof wee have so large supply in our owne the ancient Saxon Kings : *Kingilfus*, *Ina*, *Ceolulfus*, *Fadbertus*, *Etbetredus*, *Kennredus*, *Offa*, *Sebbi*, and *Sigebertus* did of their owne accord lay downe their Diadems and Scepters, and betake themselvs to solitary & religious lives. Now many Princes have
held

held their estate with better fortune,
but none did ever with greater honour
leave it, then you should at this
present: for others have abandoned
their rule, either for desire of ease,
or for avoidance of danger, or upon
some suggestion or superstitious deu-
otion: but you for love to your
Country, shall forbear to seek
your uttermost remedy, in setting
up a most cruell warre: wherein
much English blood should bee spilt,
and the Realme deprived of many
worthy armies. Let others be re-
ported to forsake their Kingdomes,
when they had no longer pleasure
to hold them: but your praise shall
bee for giving over, when it is great-
est benefit unto the people; and the
more hope you have to prevaile, if
you list to contend, the greater com-
mendations will it bee to yeeld, as
being rather voluntary then by con-
straint.

The King commended the cou-
rage of the first, but this last Counsell
best agreed with his faith and feble

body

L

Spirit,

Spirit, more yielding to feare then
 forward in hope; apt by the one to
 despair, unable by the other to hold
 out in any hard adventure, preferring
 alwayes abject and base safety, be-
 fore hazard with honour. Yet were
 many ready to reply, that all speech
 of conditions and yielding was
 both dishonourable, and also dange-
 rous: for even in hardest hap, said
 they, a Noble nature will not pre-
 sently relinquish; but first endeavour
 either by courage to repell the dan-
 ger, or by wisdom to decline it;
 and why should you so little esteeme
 your glory and fame, as without bat-
 tle or blow stricken to bind your
 hands, and yeeld up your weapons,
 and put your selfe upon miserable
 mercy: or if the honour of your No-
 ble house doth nothing move you,
 yet let danger and despair at least
 arme you to boldnesse; for neither
 the Duke nor his friends will bee so
 confident as to thinke themselves
 safe, so long as you shall remaine (al-
 though in private state) alive. In
 deed

deed you may assure your selfe that
 faire words will bee gaine, and large
 offers made: but the performance
 shall consist in the courtesie of the
 Conqueror: and nothing will bee
 thought unlawfull to him that hath
 power. King Edward the second
 was too heavy to bee induced, even
 of his owne Sonne: and many have
 used violence to themselves, rather
 then they would fall into the power
 of their concurrents: and doe not you
 expect more favour or greater favour
 then other have found: for never that
 fearelesse possesse your mind, to im-
 agine that a Prince may live safely
 in private estate: for in this case there
 is no meane betweene Calamity, and no-
 thing betweene the highest honour and
 the deadliest downefall. Therefore o-
 mit neither all, nor any one meane
 unadvised, to maintaine your side by
 armes: no greater harme can happen
 at the hardest, then that which wil-
 lingly you runne into: you can but
 die if you bee vanquished, and die
 you shall if you doe yield: but by the

one you shall end your life with glory, by the other with shame and perpetuall reproach. And although you doe now esteeme equally of both, yet when you shall see your selfe pent in prison, in dayly feare and expectation of a bloody Messenger, you shall then perceive a difference in death, and find the weakenesse and fault of the Councell which you are about to follow. Many like speeches were with great vehemency often repeated; but the Kings cares were stopped against all impression of manhood: and as hee was unable to governe himselfe in his prosperous estate; so was hee much lesse sufficient to wind out of these intricate troubles. Therefore perceiving himselfe so straitly beset, that hee could hardly either escape away, or shift any longer, hee desired speech with *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Lord Henry Percy* Earle of *Northumberland*, of whom, the one hee had banished, the other hee had proclaimed Traytour not long

long before. These two came unto him, and the King upon short conference, understanding what stiffe stomacks they bare against him, was content not to demand that which he saw hee could not obtaine: and thereupon agreed that hee would relinquish his estate, upon condition that an honourable living might be assigned him, and life promised to eight such persons as hee would name the greatest number whom his adversaries did not alter. This was then both readily and faithfully promised by the Archbishop and the Earle, and afterward solemnly ratified by the Duke. The King ceased not yet to weare submissly, and promise largely, and (as the nature is of men perplexed with feare) above his ability, and without measure; the Earle encouraged him, and declared that the Duke before he had obtained any aid, secured by his oath the safety of the Kings person. Then the King desired to talke with the Duke, which was likewise promised; and so the

Archbishop and the Earle departed, and the King removed to the Castle of *Flee* about eight miles distant from *Chester*, to which place the Duke came to him. Here the countenances and words of both were noted, by them that were present; the King seemed abject and base: the Duke neither insulting nor relenting, but comforting and promising friendly. The King repeated many benefits and kindnesses that hee had shewed him in former time hee had spared the Dukes owne life, and lately his Sonnes: in regard whereof he desired him; with such submission as was agreeable rather with his necessity then his honour: that hee would shew some pittie where hee had received such pleasure: and permit him to enjoy his life, with such private maintenance as was convenient for his estate. The Duke put him in good comfort, promising him assuredly, that he would provide for his safety: for which hee suffered himselfe to be solemnly thanked, and thought it

not

not much to have it accounted a great
benefit. Indeed from that time the
King was kept safe and sure enough
from binding any of the Dukes pur-
poses, neither could it so easily have
beene discerned what had beene best
for him to doe, as that this which he
did was the very worst: for the same
night he was brought by the Duke &
his army to Chester, and from thence
secretly conveyed to the Tower of
London, there to be kept safe until the
Parliament, which was appointed
shortly after to be holden.

Thus the King yielded himselfe
the 30. day of August, being the 47.
day after the Dukes arrivall: so that
his journey considered, from *Houl-
derness* in the North to *London*: from
thence to *Bristol*, and so into *Wales*,
and back againe to *Chester*: a man shall
not easily travell over the land in
shorter time then he conquered it.
So friendly was fortune unto him,
that he either found or made a ready
passage through all hinderances and
lets: and it seemed that hee needed

only to open his arms, to meet and receive her, as she offered her selfe unto him. All the Kings treasure and Jewels, with his horses, and all his baggage came to the Dukes hands; and many that were in his company, were afterwards also despoiled by the soldiers of *Northumberland* and *Wales*. Some Writers affirme, that the King did not yeeld himselfe, but was forelaid and taken, as he was secretly passing from *Flint* to *Chester*; but the authority of others who lived in that time, either in the plain view, or certaine intelligence of these affaires, who for their place could not but know, & for their profession would not but deliver the very truth, hath drawne mee to follow their report; which I find also received by some late Writers, of as great depth in judgement and choyce as any (without exception) that this age hath brought forth.

As the King was carried towards *London*, certaine Citizens conspired to lay themselves in a way by the way.

way, and sodainly to slay him partly,
for private grievances, and partly, for
the cruelty that he had used towards
the whole City: but the Major upon
intelligence prevented the practice,
& rode forth in person with a conve-
nient company, to conduct him safe-
ly unto the Tower. Shortly after the
Duke came to *London* in solemn or-
dinate, and sent forth summons in the
Kings name, for a Parliament to bee
holden at *Westminster*, the last day of
September, in the same year: in the
meane time he deliberated with his
kindred, & kind friends, concerning
the order of his proceedings. The
Duke of *York* (who a little before
had beene Governour of the Realme
for the King, & then was the chiefest
Director of the Duke) thought it
best that King *Richard* should both
voluntarily resigne, and also solempne-
ly be deposed, by consent of all the
States of the Realme: for resignation
onely would be imputed to fear, and
deprivation to force: whereof the
one is alwayes pitied, & the other con-
vied.

vied but if both concurte, and his de-
 stie be combined with his desert, be-
 ing willing to forsaue that which he
 is ad iudged woorthy to forgoe, then
 shall it appeare, that he neither is ex-
 pelled his Kingdome by more con-
 straint, nor leaveth it without just
 cause. This advice pleased the rest, and
 for enacting thereof upon the day
 of St. Michael (which was the day
 before the Parliament should begin)
 there assembled at the Tower, *Thomas*
Arundell Archbishop of *Canterbury*,
Richard Serrippe Archbishop of *Torke*,
John Bishop of Hereford, *Henry Duke*
of Lancaster, *Henry Earl of Northam-*
berland, *Radulph Earle of Westmer-*
land, *Lord Hugh Burnell*, *Lord Tho-*
mas Baskyl, *Lord Rafe*, *Lord Willough-*
by, *Lord Abergray*, The Abbot of
Westminster, the priour of *Canterbury*,
William Thelminge, and *John Marke-*
ham Chiefe Iustices, *Thomas Stuke*, and
John Burbeck, Doctors of Law, *Tho-*
mas Harpington, and *Thomas Gray*
 Knights, *William Ferby*, and *Dionise*
Lopham publike Notaries, and divers
 others

others either not noted, or not remembered. When all were set in their places, King Richard was brought forth, apparelled in his Royall robe, the bladdine on his head, & the Scepter in his hand; and was placed amongst them in a Chaire of estate. Never was Prince so gorgeous, with lesse glory and greater griefe: to whom it was not disgrace sufficient, to lose both the honour and ornaments of a King, but hee must openly to his greater scorne, renounce the one, and deliver the other. After a little pause and expectation, the King arose from his seat, and spake to the assembly these words, or the very like in effect.

I assure my self that some at this present, & many hereafter, will accompt my case lamentable: either that I have deserved this defection, if it be just; or if it be wrongfull, that I could not avoid it. Indeed I do confesse that many times I have shewed my selfe both lesse provident & lesse painfull for the benefit of the Common-wealth, then I should.

I should, or might; or intended to doe hereafter; and have in many actions more respected the satisfying of my owne particular humors, then either justice to some private persons, or the common good of all, yet I did not at any time either omit duty, or commit grievance upon naturall duties or for malice; but partly, by abuse of corrupt Counsellors, partly, by error of my youthfull judgement. And now the remembrance of these oversights, is so unpleasant to no man, as to my selfe; and the rather because I have no meanes left, either to recompence the injuries which I have done, or to testifie to the World my reformed affections, which experience and stayedness of yeares had already corrected, and would dayly have framed to more perfection. But whether all the imputations, wherewith I am charged be true, either in substance, or in such quality as they are laid, or whether being true they be heinous, as to enforce these extremities, or whether any other Prince, else

especially in the heate of youth, and in
the space of two and twenty yeares
(the time of my unfortunate raigne)
doth, not sometimes cherishe for ad-
vantage, or upon displeasure, in as
deepe manner grieve some particular
subject: I will not now examine: it
helpeth not to use defence, neither
booteth it to make complaint: there
is left no place for the one, nor pity
for the other: and therefore I referre
it to the judgement of God, and your
lesse distempered considerations.

I accuse no man, I blame no for-
tune, I complaine of nothing: I have
no pleasure in such vaine and need-
lesse comforts; and if I list to have
stood upon termes, I know I have
great fauourers abroad, and some
friends (I hope) at home, who would
have bene ready, yea for ward on my
behalfe to set up a bloody and doubt-
full warre: but I esteeme not my dig-
nity at so high a prize, or the hazard
of so great value, the spilling of so
much English blood, and the spoile &
wast of so flourishing a Reame, as
thereby

thereby might have bene occasioned. Therefore that the Commonwealth may rather rise by my fall, then I stand by the ruine thereof, I willingly yeeld to your desires, and whither come to dispossesse my selfe to all publike authoriey and title, and to make it free and lawfull for you to create for your King, *Henry Duke of Lancaster* my Cousin *Germane*, whom I know to be as worthy to take that place, as I see you willing to give it to him.

Then he read openly and distinctly the forme of his cession, wherein he did declare, that he had discharged his subjects from their oaths of fealty and homage, & all other oaths whatsoever; and of his owne will and free motion, did abdicate the title digni-ty, and authoriey of a King: and rendered up the possession of the Realm, with the use and title thereof, and all the rights therunto appertaining. To this the King subscribed and was sworn: and then he delivered with his owne hands the Crowne, the Scepter,

Scepter, and the Robe to the Duke of
Lancaster; wishing unto him more
happinesse therewith, then had ever
happened unto himselfe. Then he did
constitute the Archbishop of *York*,
and the Bishop of *Heresford* his Pro-
curators; to intimate and declare
this his resignation to all the States
of the Realme, which should be as-
sembled together in Parliament.
Lastly hee gave all his riches and
goods, to the summe of three hun-
dred thousand pounds in come, be-
sides his Jewels and plate, for satis-
faction of the injuries that hee had
done, desiring the Duke, and all the
rest that were present severally by
their names, not altogether to forget
that he had bene their King, nor yet
too much to thinke upon the same;
but to retaine of him a moderate re-
membrance; and in recompence of
the ease that he had done them by his
voluntary yielding, to permit him to
live safely, in a private and quiet
life: with the sweatenie whereof he
was so possessed, that from thence-
forth

forth he would preferre it before any preferment in the World. All this was delivered and done by the King with voyce and countenance so agreeable to his present heavynesse, that there was no man too ungrindefull of humane instability, which was not in some measure moved thereto: in so much as a few secret teares melted from the eyes of many that were present, in whose minds a confused and obscure alteration gan to begin. So prone and inclinable are men to pity misery, although they have procured it, and to envy prosperity, even that which they have raised.

Vpon Munday next following, the Parliament beganne at Westminster, and the Archbishop of Yorke and the Bishop of Hereford (the Kings Attornies for this purpose) declared openly to the States there assembled, the Kings voluntary resignation, and demanded whether they would assent and agree therunto: the Barons of the Realme by severall and particular consent, the Commons with

one

one generall voice, did expressly accept and admit the same. Then it was thought meet that certaine defects and misdemeanures concerning matters of government; should bee objected against the King, for which he should be adjudged as unworthy, as hee seemed unwilling to retain the Kingdome. To this purpose certaine articles were engrossed, and openly read; in which was contained, how unprofitable the King had become to the Realme; how unjust and grievous to the Subjects; contrary both to his honour, and to his oath. The chiefest of which Articles are these that follow.

First, that King Richard did wastefully spend the Treasures of the Realme, and had given the possession of the Crowne, to men unworthy, by reason whereof new charges were daily laid on the necks of the poore Comminalty.

Item, Where divers Lords as well Spirituall as Temporall were

were appointed by the High Court of Parliament, to commune and treat of matters concerning the State of the Realme; and the Commonwealth of the same, they being busied about the same commission he with others of his affinity went about to impeach them of treason. *Item*, that he thereby force and menaces, hee compelled the Justices of the Realme *Thomas de Beauchamp*, to conform to his opinion for the destruction of the said Lords: Inasmuch as he began to raise warre, against the Duke of Lancaster, *Thomas* Earle of Arundel, Richard Earle of Warwick, and other Lords contrary to his honour and promise.

4 Item, that he caused the Vncle the Duke of Gloucester, to be arrested without law, and sent him to Calis, and there without judgement murdered him: and although the Earle of Arundel upon his arraignment, pleaded his charter of pardon, he could not bee heard, but was in most

most vile and shamefull manner fo-
leynly put to death.

6 Item, he assembled certayne
Leicestershire and Cheshire men, to the
intent to make warre on the
forfeid Lords, and suffered them
to robbe and spoile, without cor-
rection and reproofe.

7 Item, that although the King
utterly and with great dis-
simulation, made proclamation
throughout the Realme, that the
Lords aforesaid were not at-
tached for any crime of treason,
but onely for extortions and oppres-
sions done within the Realme, yet
hee said to them in the Parlia-
ment rebellion with manifest trea-
son.

8 Item, hee hath compelled di-
vers of the said Lords servants by
menace, to make great fines and ex-
treme payments, to their utter un-
doing: and notwithstanding his par-
don to them gramed, he made them
fine anew.

9 Item, where divers were appoin-
ted.

ted to continue of the estate of the Realme, and the Common wealth of the same; the King caused all the roles and records to bee kept from them, contrary to his promise made in Parliament, to his open dishonour.

9 Item, hee uncharitably commanded that no man upon paine of losse of life and goods, should once intreat him for the returne of *Henry*, now Duke of *Lancaster*.

10 Item, where the Realme is bounden of God; and not of the Pope, or any other Prince, the said King *Richard*, after hee had obtained diuers acts of Parliament, for his owne peculiar profit and pleasure, then hee procured Bulles and excommunicatorie censures from *Rome* to compell all men straightly to keepe the same, contrary to the honour and ancient priuiledges of this Realme.

11 Item, although the Duke of *Lancaster* had done his deuoir against *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*, in

proofe

proofe of his quarrell, yet the said King without reason or ground, committed him to the Realme for some yeares, contrary to all equity. Item, before the Dukes departure, hee strid his broad Scale, licensed him to make Attorneys, to prolecute and defend his causes: the said King after his departure, would suffer none Attorney to appeare for him, but did with his at his pleasure.

13 Item, the said King put out divers Sheriffes lawfully elected, and put in their roomes divers others of his owne mitions, subverting the law, contrary to his oath and honour.

14 Item, hee borrowed great summes of money, and bound himselfe under his Letters patents, for the repayment of the same, and yet not one penny paid.

15 Item, he taxed men at the will of him, and his unhappy Counsaile, and the same Treasure spent in folly.

not

not paying poore men for their vi-
taile and viand.

15 Item, he said that the lawes
of the Realme were in his head, and
sometimes in his breast: by reason
of which phantasticall opinion,
hee destroyed Noble men, and
impoverished the poore Com-
mons.

17 Item, the Parliament setting
and enacting divers notable Statutes
for the profit and advancement of
the Common wealth, he by his pri-
vy friends and solicitors, caused to
bee enacted, that no Act then enacted
should bee more prejudiciall to
him then it was to his Predecessours:
therow which proviso, hee did as-
ten as hee list, and not as the law
moued.

18 Item, for to serve his pur-
pose, he would suffer the Sheriffs of
the Shires, to remaine above one
yeare or two in their office.

19 Item, wth the summons of Par-
liament, when the Knights and Bur-
gesses should bee elected, and the
ele-

section had fully proceeded, bee
 at wobbe divers persons selected
 and put in others in their place
 to serve his will and appoynt-
 ment. Item, hee had priuie espial
 in every shire, to heare who had of-
 fered any communication, and if hee
 commended of his lascivious living,
 and outrageous doing, hee straight-
 wayes was apprehended and made
 a grievous fine. Item, the Spirituallty alledged
 against him, that hee at his going in-
 to Ireland, exacted many notable
 summes of money, beside Plate and
 Jewels, without law or custome,
 contrary to his oath taken at his cor-
 onation. Item, when divers Lords and
 Iustices were sworn to say the
 truth, of diuers things to them com-
 mitted in charge, both for the be-
 nefit of the Realme and profit of the
 King, the said King so menaced them
 with sore threatenings, that no man
 would or durst say the right.

23 Item,

Item, that without the assent
of the Nobility, he carried the Jewels
and Plate, and Treasure, over the
Sea into *Ireland*, to the great impo-
verishing of the Realme; and all the
good Records of the Common-
wealth, against his extortions, were
caused privily to be embescaled and
carried away, and to be burnt.

Item, in all Leagues and let-
ters to be concluded, and sent to the
Sea of *Rome*, and other Regions,
his writing was so Inbeill and darke,
that no other Prince durst once be-
lieve him, not yet his owne Sub-
jects.

Item, hee most tyrannously
and unprincely said, that the lives and
goods of all his Subjects, were in the
Princes hands, and at his disposition.

Item, that hee contrary to
the great Charter of *England*, caused
divers lusty men to appeale divers
old men, upon matters determina-
ble at the Common law, in the
Court Marriall, because that in that
Court is no triall but only by bat-
tail.

taile: whereby the said aged persons fearing the sequell of the matter, submitted themselves to his mercy, whom hee fined and ransomed unreasonably at his pleasure.

27 Item, he craftily devised certaine privy oathes, contrary to Law, and caused divers of his subjects, first to be sworn to observe the same, and after bound them in bands for ever keeping the same, to the great undoing of many honest men.

28 Item, where the Chancellor according to law, would in no wise grant a prohibition to a certaine person, the King granted it unto the same person under his privie Scale, with great threatnings if it should be disobeyed.

29 Item, he banished the Bishop of *Canterbury*, without cause or judgement, and kept him in the Parliament Chamber with men of armes.

30 Item, the Bishops goods hee granted to his successor, upon condition that hee should maintaine all his

statutes made at *Shrewsbury*; Anno 21. and the statutes made, Anno 22. at *Coventree*.

21 Item, upon the accusation of the Archbishop, the King craftily perswaded the said Bishop to make no answer, for he would be his warrant, and advised him not to come to the Parliament; and so without answer hee was condemned, and exiled, and his goods seized. Foure other Articles were laid, which particularly did concerne the said Archbishop, by whose doing chiefly the King was utterly undone.

Then was demanded of the Nobility and Commons of the Realme, what they judged both of the truth and desert of these Articles? who all agreed that the crimes were notorious, and that King *Richard* was worthy for the same to be deposed from his princely dignity. The noble men gave their voyces, part corrupted by favour, part awed by feare: and the Commons are commonly like a flocke of Cranes, as
one

one doth fly all will follow. Hereupon Commissioners were appointed by both the Houses; who pronounced sentence of deposition against King Richard, in manner and forme as followeth.

In the name of God, Amen:
Wee, Iohn Bishop of S. Asles, I. Abbot of Glasterbury, Thomas Earle of Gloucester, Thomas Lord Bekley, Thomas Erpinghame, Thomas Gray Knights: William Therning, Justice, Commissioners for the matters hereafter specified, by the Lords spirituall and temporall of the Realme of England, and the Commons of the said Realme, representing all the States of the said Kingdome, specially deputed, sitting in seate of judgement, and considering the manifold iniuries, and cruelties, and many other crimes and offenses by Richard late King of the said Realme committed and done, contrary to good government in the Realms and Dominions aforesaid, during the time of his Raigne: Also

considering the articles which were openly exhibited and read before the said States, which were so publick, notorious, manifest, and famous, that they could nor can by no avoydance and subtiltie be concealed: also considering the confession of the said King, acknowledging and reputing, and truly upon his certaine knowledge judging himselfe, to have beene, and to be altogether insufficient and unskillfull, for the rule and government of the Realmes and Dominions aforesaid, and of any parts of them, and not unworthy to be depised for the notorious demerits, by the said Richard first acknowledged, and afterward by his will and mandate, before the said States published, and to them opened and declared in the English tongue. Upon these and other matters which were done concerning the same business, before the said States and us, by the diligent place, names and authority to us in this part committed, in abundance, and for a censure was pronounced, decreed, and declared, the said Richard, to have beene, and to be unprofitable

fitable and unable, and altogether insufficient and unworthy for the rule and government of the said Realmes, and of the Dominions, Rights, and parts of them: and in regard and respect of the premises, worthily to be deposed from all kingly dignity and honour (if any such dignity and honour remaineth in him) and for the like cause we doo depose him by our sentence definitive, in this writing: inhibiting from henceforth expressly, all and singular Lords, Archbishops, Bishops, Prelates, Dukes, Marquesses and Earles, Barons, Knights, Vassalles, and all other persons whatsoever, of the said Realmes and Dominions, and other places to the said Realmes and Dominions appertaining, the subjects and liege people of the same, and every of them, that from henceforth none obey, or intend to obey the aforesaid Richard, as King or Lord of the Realmes and Dominions aforesaid.

Then the same Commissioners were by the consent and suffrages of both houses, constituted Procura-

tors, joyntly and severally for all the States of the Realme; to resigne and surrender unto King *Richard*, for them and all other homages of the Realme, all the homages and fealties which were both due and done unto him, as King and Soueraigne, and also to declare unto him all the premises, concerning his deposition. Now *Henry Duke of Lancaster*, that hee might bee reputed, or reported at the least, not to attaine the Kingdome by intrusion and wrong, was counsailed by his friends, to pretend some lawfull challenge and claime thereunto: and being in power, it was no sooner advised what was to bee done, but it was presently devised how to doe it. So a title was drawne from *Edmund*, sonne to King *Henry* the third, whom they surnamed Crouch-backe: affirming that hee was the eldest sonne of King *Henry*, and that for his deformity, hee was put from his right of succession in the Kingdome, which was for that cause given to his younger brother,

ther, King Edward the third; to this Edmund the Duke was next of blood by his mother Blanche, sole daughter and heyre to Henry the first Duke of Lancaster, and some to the said Edmund. This cunning conceit was perceived of all men, but seeming not to perceive it, was a point of friendship in some, and of obedience in the rest: therefore the Kingdome of England being then thought vacant, both by the resignation, and also by the deposition of King Richard: Duke Henry arose from his seat, and standing in the view of the Lords, crossed himselfe on the fore-head, and on the brest, and spake as followeth.

In the name of God, Amen. I Henry of Lancaster, claime the realme of England, and the Crown, with all the appurtenances, as I that am descended by right line of the blood royall, comming from that good Lord K. Henry the third, & through the right that God of his grace hath sent me, with the helpe of my kindred,

and of my friends, to recover the same :
which kingdome was in point to be un-
done, for default of good government
and due justice.

After these words , it was de-
manded in both houses , of the No-
bility and of the Commons which
were assembled , whether they did
consent, that the Duke should raig-
n ? who all with one voyce acknowl-
ged and accepted him for their
King : then the Archbishop of Can-
terbury tooke him by the hand , and
placed him in the Throne of estate ,
the Archbishop of York assisting
him , and all the assembly testifying
their owne joy , and wishing his.
Then the Archbishop made an Ora-
tion, and tooke for his theame, this
place of Scripture: *See ; this is the
man whom I s;ake to thee of, this same
shall raigne over my people , 1 Reg.*
9 17. After all this hee was pro-
claymed King of *England* , and of
France , and Lord of *Ireland* : and
the common people which is void of
cares, not searching into sequels, but
with

without difference of right or wrong inclinable to follow those that are mighty, with shoutes and clamours gave their applause, not all upon judgement, or faithfull meaning, but most only upon a received custome to flatter the Prince whatsoever he be. Yet least the heat of this humour should allay by delay, it was forthwith proclaimed in the great Hall, that upon the 27. day of September next ensuing, the Coronation of the King should be celebrated at *Westminster*, These matters being thus dispatched, the K. proclaimed, arose from his seat, and went to *White-Hall*: where hee spent the rest of day in royall feasting, and all other complements of joy: notwithstanding there appeared in him no token of stateliness or pride, nor any change in so great a change.

Vpon Wednesday next following, the Procurators, before mentioned, went to the presence of King *Richard*, being within the Tower; and declared unto him the admission

of his resignation, and also the order and forme of his deposition: and in the name of all the States of the realm, did surrender the homage and fealty which had bin due unto him; so that no man from thenceforth would bear to him faith and obedience, as to their King. The King answered that he nothing regarded these titular circumstances, but contented himselfe with hope, that his cousin would be a gracious Lord, and good friend unto him. So upon the 13. day of October, which was the day of the translation of *Edward the Confessor*, the Duke was with all accustomed solemnities, by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, sacred, annoynted, and crowned King at *Westminster*, by the name of King *Henry the fourth*: upon the very same day, wherein the yeare before he had bin banished the Realme. Hee was annoynted with an oyle, which a certain religious man gave unto *Henry the first, Duke of Lancaster*, (Grandfather to the King by the mothers side) when he served in the wars

20 211 of

of King Edward the third; beyond the seas; together with this Prophecie; that the Kings which should bee annoynted therewith, should bee the Champions of the Church. Duke Henry delivered this oyle in a golden violl to Prince Edward, the eldest Sonne of King Edward the third; who locked up the same in a barred Chest within the Tower, with intent to be annoynted therewith, when he should be crowned King: but the Prince dying before his Faither, it remayned there, either not remembered, or not regarded, untill this present yeare; wherein the King, being upon his voyage into Ireland, and making diligent search for the Jewels and Monuments of his Progenitors, found this Violl and Prophecie: and understanding the secret, was desirous to bee annoynted againe with that oyle: but the Archbishop of Canterbury perswaded him, that both the fact was unlawfull, and the pre-

precedent unless, that a King should be annoynted twice: whereupon he brake off that purpose, and took the viell with him into *Ireland*: and when he yeelded himselfe at *Flint*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* demanded it of him againe, and did receive and reserve the same, untill the coronation of King *Henry*, who was the first King of this Realme, that was annoynted therewith.

I am not purposed to discourse, either of the authority, or of the certainty of these propheties: but wee may easily observe, that the greatest part of them, either altogether sayled, or were fulfilled in another sense, then as they were commonly construed and taken. During the reigne of King *Henry* the fourth, execution by fire was first put in practise within this Realme, for controversies in points of religion: in any other extraordinary matter, hee did as much make the Church Champion, as shew himselfe a Champion of the Church: but afterwards his
suc.

successors were intituled, *Defenders of the faith*: and how in action they verified the same, I refer to remembrance, and report of later times.

Now it had bene considered, that the title which was derived to King Henry, from Edmund, whom they surnamed *Crouchbacke*, would be taken but for a blind and idle jest: for that it was notorious that the said Edmund was neither eldest sonne to King Henry the third. (as it was plainly declared by an act of Parliament), nor yet a mishapen and deformed person: but a goodly Gentleman, and valiant Commander in the field, and so favoured of the King his Father, that hee gave him both the heritages and honours of *Simon Mountferrat Earle of Leicester, of Ferrare, Earle of Derby, and of John Baron of Monmouth*, who to their owne ruine and destruction, had displayed seditious ensignes against the King. And further to advance him to the marriage of *Blanche Queene of Navarre*, hee created him
the

the first Earle of *Lancaster*, and gave unto him the Countie, Castle, and Towne of *Lancaster*, with the Forrests of *Wireddale*, *Loonidale*, *New-castle*, beneath *Linne*, the Manner, Castle, and Forrest of *Pickering*, the Manner of *Scaleby*, the Towne of *Gomecester*, of *Huntendone*, &c. with many large priviledges, and high titles of honour.

Therefore King *Henry* upon the day of his Coronation, caused to bee proclaymed, that hee claymed the kingdome of *England*, first by right of conquest: Secondly, because King *Richard* had resigned his estate, and designed him for his successour: Lastly, because hee was of the blood royall, and next heyre male unto King *Richard*.

Heres malus indeed (quoth *Edmund Mortimer*, Earle of *March*, unto his secret friends) and so is the Pyrate to the Merchant, when hee despoyleth him of all that he hath. This *Edmund* was sonne to *Roger Mortimer*, who was not long before slaine

slaine in *Ireland*, and had beene openly declared heyre apparent to the Crowne, in case King *Richard* should dye without issue, as descended by his Mother *Philip*, from *Lionell*, Duke of *Clarence*, who was elder brother to *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, King *Henries* Father: and therefore the said *Edmund* thought himselfe, and indeed was, neerer heyre male to the succession of the Crowne, then hee that by colour of right, clayming it, carried it by dint of force.

But such was the condition of the time, that hee supposed it was vaine, for him to stirre, where King *Richard* could not stand: Whereupon hee dissembled, either that hee saw his wrong, or that hee regarded it; and chose rather to suppress his title for a time, then by untimely opposing himselfe, to have it oppressed and depressed for ever: to this end hee withdrew himselfe farre from *London*, to his Lordship of *Wigmore*,

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in the West parts of the Realme, and there settled himselfe to a private and close life: Idlenesse and vacancy from publike affaires, he accounted a vertue, and a deepe point of wisdom to meddle with nothing, whereof no man was chargeable to yeeld a reckoning. In reueres hee was meane, in apparell moderate, in company and traine not excessive, (yet in all these honourable, and according to his degree) so that they which esteemed men by outward appearance only, could see in him no great shew, either of wit and courage in his mind to be feared; or of wealth and honour in his estate to be envied. And thus whilest a greater enemy was feared, hee passed unregarded; making himselfe safe by contempt, where nothing was so dangerous as a good opinion; and raking up those coales in obscurity for a time, which shortly after set all the Realme on fire.

King Henry presently after his coronation, created his eldest sonne Lord

Lord Henry, being then about xiii. yeares of age, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earle of Chester, and soone after he created him also Duke of Aquitaine. Afterwards it was enacted, by consent of all the states of the Realme, assembled together in the Parliament, that the inheritance of the Crowne and Realmes of England, and of France, and of all the Dominions to them appertaining, should bee united and remaine in the person of King Henry, and in the heires of his body lawfully begotten: and that Prince Henry his eldest sonne, should be his heyre apparant, and successor in the premises: and if hee should dye without lawfull issue, then they were entayled to his other sonnes successively in order, and to the heyres of their bodies lawfully begotten.

The inheritance of the Kingdome being in this sort settled in King Henry and in his line, it was moved in the parliament what should be done with
King

King Richard. The Bishop of Chertiel, who was a man learned and wise, and one that alwayes used both liberty and constancy in a good cause; in his secret judgement did never give allowance to these proceedings: yet dissembled his dislike untill hee might to some purpose declare it: therefore now being in place to be heard of all, and by order of the house, to be interrupted by none, hee rose up and with a bold and present spirit, uttered his mind as followeth.

This question (right honourable Lords) concerneth a matter of great consequence and weight: the determining whereof will assuredly procure, either safe quiet, or dangerous disturbance, both to our particular consciences, and also to the common state. Therefore before you resolve upon it, I pray you call to your considerations these two things: First, whether King Richard be sufficiently deposed or no: Secondly, whether King Henry bee with good judgement

ment or justice chosen in his place. For the first point we are first to examine, whether a King, being lawfully and fully instituted by any just title, may upon imputation either of negligence, or of tyrannie, be deposed by his subjects: Secondly, what King *Richard* hath omitted in the one, or committed in the other, for which hee should deserve so heavy judgement. I will not speake what may be done in a popular state, or in a Consular; in which although one beareth the name and honour of a Prince, yet hee hath not supreme power of Majesty; but in the one, the people have the highest Empire; in the other, the Nobility, and chiefe men of estate; in neither, the Prince. Of the first sort was the common-wealth of the Lacedaemoans, who after the form of government w^{ch} *Licurgus* framed, oftentimes fined, oftentimes fettered their kings, and sometimes condemned them to death: such were also in *Cesars* time, the petty Kings of

Tranquil.
in Caligi-
la.

Tacitus in
Proemio.

of every Citie in *France*; who were many times arraigned upon life and death, and (as *Ambiorix* Prince of the *Leodienses* confessed) had no greater power over the people, then the people had over them. Of the second condition were the Roman Emperours at the first; of whom some, namely, *Nero* and *Maximinus* were openly condemned, others were suddenly surprized by judgement, and authority of the Senate: and such are now the Emperors of *Germany*, whom the other Princes by their Aristocraticall power, doe not only reſtraine, but ſometimes alſo remove from their Imperiall ſtate: ſuch are alſo the Kings of *Denmarke*, and *Switzerland*, who are many times by the Nobility dejected, either into priſon, or into exile: ſuch likewiſe are the Dukes of *Venice*, and of ſome other free ſtates in *Italy*: and the chiefſt cauſe for which *Lewis* Earle of *Flaunders* was lately expelled from his place, was for drawing to himſelfe cogniſance in matters of life and

and death, which high power never pertained to his dignity,

In these and such like governments, the Prince hath not regall rights, but is himselfe subject to that power which is greater then his, whether it bee in the Nobility or in the common people. But if the Sovereigne Majesty be in the Prince, as it was in the three first Empires, and in the Kingdome of *Iudea*, and *Israel*; and is now in the kingdomes of *England*, *France*, *Spain*, *Scotland*, *Moscovia*, *Turky*, *Tartaria*, *Persia*, *Ethiopia*, and almost all the kingdomes of *Asia*, and *Africke*: although for his vices he be unprofitable to the subjects, yea hurtfull, yea intollerable: yet can they lawfully neither harme his person, nor hazard his power, whether by judgement, or else by force: for neither one, nor all Magistrates have any authority over the Prince, from whom all authority is derived, and whose only presence doth silence, and suspend all inferiour jurisdiction, and

and power. As for force, what subject can attempt, or assist, or counsaile, or conceale violence against his Prince, and not incurre the high and hainous crime of treason?

It is a common saying, thought is free: free indeed from punishment of secular lawes, except by word or deed it breake forth into action: Yet the secret thoughts against the sacred Majesty of a Prince, without attempt, without endeavour, have bene adjudged worthy of death: and some who in auricular confession, have discovered their treacherous devises against the person of their Prince, have afterwards been executed for the same. All Lawes doe exempt a mad man from punishment: because their actions are not governed by their will and purpose, and the will of man being set aside, all his doings are indifferent, neither can the body offend without a corrupt or erroneous mind: yet if a mad man draw his sword upon his King,

it hath beene adjudged to deserve death. And lest any man should surmise that Princes, for the maintenance of their owne safety and soveraignety, are the onely Authors of these judgements; let us a little consider the Patternes and Precepts of Holy Scripture. Nebuchadnezzar King of Assyria, wasted all Palestine with fire and sword, oppugned Hierusalem a long time, and at the last expugned it: slue the King: burnt the Temple: tooke away the Holy Vessels and Treasure: the rest hee permitted to the cruelty and spoyle of his unmercifull souldiers: who defiled all places with rape and slaughter, and ruinated to the ground that flourishing Citie: after the glut of this bloody butchery, the people which remayned, he led captive into Chaldees: and there erected his golden Image; and commanded that they which refused to worship it, should bee cast into a fiery Furnace. What

Ier. 27 9.
Ezech. 29
12.
Ier. 29 7.
Bacuch. 1.
11.

What cruelty, what injustice, what impiety is comparable to this? and yet God calleth *Nebuchadnezzar* his servant, and promiseth hyre and wages for his service: and the Prophets *Jeremiah* and *Barnab* did write unto the Iewes to pray for the life of him, and of *Balthazar* his sonne, that their dayes might bee upon earth as the dayes of Heaven: and *Ezechiel* with bitter termes abhorreth the disloyalty of *Zedechias*, because he revolted from *Nebuchadnezzar*, whose hominger and tributary he was. What shall we say of *Saul*? did hee not put all the Priests to execution, because one of them did relieue holy and harmless *David*? did hee not violently persecute that his most faithfull servant and dutifull sonne in law? during which pursuit, he fell twice into the power of *David*; who did not only spare, but also protect the King, and reproved the Pectorian souldiers for their negligent watch, and was touched in heart for cutting away the lap of his garment: and after-

afterwards caused the Messenger to be slaine, who upon request and for pittie, had lent his hand (as hee said) to help forward the voluntary death of that sacred King. As for the contrary examples: as that of *Ishbosheth* who slew *Ishbosheth* and *Athalia*, Kings of *Israel* and *Juda*: they were done by expresse oracle and revelation from God, and are no more set downe for our imitation, then the robbing of the *Egyptians*, or any other particular and priviledged Commandment; but in the generall Precept, which all men must ordinarily follow, not onely our actions, but our speeches also, and our very thoughts are strictly charged with duty and obedience unto Princes, whether they be good or evill, the law of

VI. 1150

VI. 1151

VI. 1152

* So did Domitian put to death Epaphroditus, Nerves libertine, because he belied Nero (although in love) to kill himselfe, so did Severus kill all the killers of *Parricid* his

Predecessour; and likewise *Titus* did put to death all the murderers of *Galba*. *Theophilus* Emperour of *Greece* caused all those to be slaine who had made his Father Emperour, by killing *Leo Africanus*. And *Alexander* the great put to death execution, those that had slaine *Darius* his mighty and mortal enemy.

mom N God

Deut. 17. 12. God ordaineth: That hee which doth
 presumptuously against the Ruler of
 the people shall dye: and the Prophet
 David forbiddeth, to touch the Lords
 appointed. Thou shalt not (saith the
 Lord) raise up the Judges; neither
 speake evil against the Ruler of the
 people. And the Apostles doe de-
 mand further, that even our thoughts
 and soules be obedient to higher
 powers. And lest any should ima-
 gine that they meant of good
 Princes onely, they speake gene-
 rally of all; and further to take away
 all doubt, they make expresse menti-
 on of the evil. For the power and
 authority of wicked Princes is the
 ordinance of God; and therefore
 CHRIST told Pilate, that the
 power which hee had was given
 him from above; and the Prophet
 Esay calleth Cyrus, being a Prophane
 and Heathen Prince, the Lords an-
 nointed. For God stirred up the
 Spirit even of wicked Princes to doe
 his will; and (as Iehosaphat said to his
 Rulers) they execute not the judge-
 ment

ment of man, but of the Lord: In regard whereof David calleth them Gods; because they have their rule and authority immediately from God: which if they abuse, they are not to bee adjudged by their Subjects, for no power within their Dominion is superiour to theirs: but God reserveth them to the sorest trial: Horribly and suddenly (saith the *Wiseman*) will the Lord appear unto them, and a hard judgement shall they have.

The law of God commandeth, that the Childe should bee put to death, for any contumely done unto the Parents: but what if the Father bee a robber? if a murderer? if for all excesses of villanies, odious and execrable both to God and man? surely hee deserveth the highest degree of punishment, and yet must not the Sonne lift up his hand against him, for no offence is so great as to bee punished by parricide: but our Country is decreed unto us then our Parents: and the Prince is *Parricide*

2 Chron.
19. 6.
Psal. 28.

Sap. 6.

Quintil. in
declam.
Cic. offic.
lib. 1.

Nehem 9.

37

Alphonf. n.
cast in lib.
de heres. in
verb. Ti-
ran. Dom.
not. lib. 5.
de just. &
jur. q. 1
arrio. 3.

trie, the Father of our Countrey and therefore more sacred and decre unto us, then our Parents by nature, and must not bee violated, how imperious, how impious so ever hee bee: doth hee command or demand, our persons or our purses, wee must not shunne for the one, nor shrinke for the other: for (as *Nehemiah* saith,) *Kings have Dominion over the bodies and over the cattle of their Subjects, at their pleasure.* Doth hee enjoyne thos: actions which are contrary to the lawes of God? wee must neither wholly obey, nor violently resist, but with a constant courage submit our selves to all manner of punishment, and shew our subjection by enduring, and not performing: yea the Church hath declared it to bee an Heresie, to hold that a Prince may be slaine or deposed by his Subjects, for any disorder or default, either in life, or else in government, there will bee faults so long as there are men: and as we endure with patience a barren yeare, if it happen, and unseasona-

sonable weather, and such other defects of nature, so must wee tollerate the imperfections of Rulers and quietly expect, either reformation, or else a change.

But alas good King *Richard*, what such cruelty? what such impiety hath he ever committed? examine rightly those Imputations which are laid against him, without any false circumstance of aggravation, and you shall find nothing objected, either of any truth; or of great moment. It may bee that many errors and oversightes have escaped him, yet none so grievous to bee termed tyranny, as proceeding rather from unexperienced ignorance, or corrupt counsaile, then from any naturall and wilfull malice. Oh, how shall the World bee pestered with Tyrants, if Subjects may rebell upon every presence of tyranny? how many good Princes shall dayly bee suppressed by those, by whom they ought to bee supported? if they leavy a subsidy, or any other taxation, it shall

bee claimed oppression: if they put any to death for trayterous attempts against their Persons, it shall bee exclaimed cruelty: if they doe any thing against the lust and liking of the people, it shall bee proclaimed tyranny.

But let it bee, that without authority in us, or desert in him, King *Richard* must bee deposed: yet what right had the Duke of *Lancaster* to the Crowne? or what reason haue wee without his right to giue it to him? if hee make title as Heire unto King *Richard*, then must hee yet stay untill King *Richard*'s death: for no man was succeed as Heire to one that liueth. But it is well knowne to all men, who are not either wilfully blind or grossely ignorant, that there are some now alive. Lineally descended from *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, whose off-spring was by Iudgement of the High Court of Parliament holden the eight yeare of the raigne of King *Richard*, declared next Successour to the Crowne,

Crowne, in case King Richard should
 dye without issue. Concerning the
 title from *Edmund Crouchback*, I
 will passe it over, seeing the authours
 thereof are become ashamed, of so
 absurd a use, both of their owne
 knowledge, and our credality, and
 therefore all the claime is now
 made, by right of conquest; by the
 cession and grant of King Richard;
 and by the generall consent of all
 the people. It is a bad wooll that
 can take no colour: but what con-
 quest can a Subject pretend against
 his Sovereigne, where the warre is
 insurrection, and the victory high
 and heinous treason? as for the re-
 signation which King Richard made,
 being a pent Prisoner for the same
 cause; it is an act exacted by force;
 and therefore of no force and va-
 lidity to bind him: and seeing that
 by the lawes of this Land, the King
 alone cannot alienate the ancient
 Jewels and ornaments pertai-
 ning to the Crowne, surely hee
 cannot give away the Crowne

it selfe, and therewithall the King
dome.

Neither have wee any custome,
that the people at pleasure should
elect their King: but they are al-
wayes bound unto him, who by
right of bloud is right successeur:
much lesse can they confirme and
make good that title, which is before
by violence usurped: for nothing can
then be freely done, when liberty is
once restrained by feare. So did *Seilla*
by terrour of his Legions, obtaine
the law of *Vellia* to be made, where-
by hee was created Dictatour for
foure score yeares: and by like im-
pression of feare, *Cesar* caused the
law *Servia* to bee promulged, by
which hee was made perpetuall
Dictatour: but both these lawes were
afterwards adjudged void. As for the
deposing of King *Edward* the second
it is no more to bee urged, then the
poisoning of King *Iohn*, or the mur-
dering of any other good and law-
full Prince: we must live according
to lawes, and not to examples: and
yet

yet the Kingdome was not then taken from the lawfull successor. But if we looke back to times lately past, we shall find that these titles were more strong in King *Stephen*, then they are in the Duke of *Lancaster*. For King *Henry* the first being at large liberty, neither restrained in body, nor constrained in mind, had appointed him to succeed: (as it was upon good credit, certainly affirmed;) The people assented to this designement; and thereupon without feare, and without force, he was appointed King, and obtained full possession of the Realme. Yet *Henry* (Sonne of the Earle of *Anjou*) having a nearer right by his Mother to the Crowne, (notwithstanding his Father was a stranger, and himselfe borne beyond the Seas) raised such rough warres upon King *Stephen*, that there was no end of spoiling the goods and spilling the blood of the unhappy people, besides the ruines and deformities of many Cities and Holds; until his lawfull

inheritance was to him assured. It
 terrifieth mee to remember how
 many flourishing Empires, and
 Kingdomes have bene by meanes
 of such contentions either torne in
 pieces with detestive division, or
 subdued to forreigne Princes, under
 pretences of assistance and aid: and I
 need not repeat how sore this
 Realme hath heretofore bene sha-
 ken with these severall mischieves:
 and yet neither the examples of o-
 ther Countries, nor the miseries of
 our owne, are sufficient to make us to
 beware.

O *Englishmen*, worse bewitched
 then the foolish *Galatians*: our un-
 stayed minds and restless resolu-
 tions, doe nothing else but hunt af-
 ter our owne harmes: no people
 have more hatred abroad, and none
 less quiet at home: in other Coun-
 tries the sword of invasion hath
 bene shaken against us: in our owne
 land, the fire of insurrection hath
 bene kindled among us: and what
 are these innovations, but whistones

to sharpen the one and bellowes to
blow up the other.

Certainly I feare that the same
will happen unto us which *Esop*
saith to have bene fallen unto the
Frogs; who being desirous to have
a King, a beame was given unto
them: the first fall whereof did put
them in some feare, but when they
saw it lye still in the streame, they
insulted thereon with great con-
tempt, and desired a King of quicker
courage: then was sent unto them
a Storke, which stalking among
them with stately steps, continually
devoured them. The mildnesse of
King *Richard* hath bred in us this
scorne, interpreting it to bee cowar-
dise and dulnesse of nature: the next
Heire is likewise rejected: I will
not say that with greater courage we
shall find greater cruelty; but if ei-
ther of these shall hereafter bee able
to see up their side, and bring the
matter to triall by arms, I doe as-
uredly say, that which part ever shall
carry the doguine of the field, the

people both wayes must goe to wrack. And thus have I declared my mind concerning this question, in more words then your wisdom, yet fewer then the weight of the cause doth require: and doe boldly conclude, that we have neither power nor policy, either to depose King *Richard*, or to elect Duke *Henry* in his place; that King *Richard* remaineth still our Sovereigne Prince, and therefore it is not lawfull for us to give judgement upon him; that the Duke whom you call King, hath more offended against the King and the Realme, then the King hath done, either against him or us, for being banished the Realme for tenne yeares by the King and his Counsaile (amongst whom his owne Father was chiefe) and sworne not to returne againe without speclall license: hee hath not onely violated his oath, but with impious armes disturbed the quiet of the Land, and dispossessed the King from his Royall estate, and now demandeth judgement against his

his person, without offence proved,
or defence heard. If this injury and
this perjury doth nothing move us,
yet let both our private and com-
mon dangers somewhat withdraw
us from these violent proceed-
ings.

This speech was diversly taken,
as men were diversly affected be-
tweene feare, hope, and shame: yet
the most part did make shew for
King Henry, and thereupon the Bi-
shop was presently attached by the
Earle Marshall, and committed to
prison in the Abbey of Saint Albons,
whose counsaile and conjecture then
contemned, was afterwards better
thought upon; partly in the life time
of King Henry, during whose raigne,
almost no yeare passed without great
slaughters and executions: but more
especially in the times succeeding,
when within the space of 36. yeares,
twelve set battailes upon this quar-
rell were fought within the
Realme by Englishmen onely: and
more then fourescore Princes

of the Royall blood slaine one by another. Then it was concluded, that King Richard should bee kept in a large prison, with all manner of Princely maintenance; and if any persons should conspire to reare warre for his deliverance, that hee should bee the first man who should suffer death for that attempt. Then the Acts of the Parliament holden at Westmynster in the 11. years of King Richard, were reviv'd; and the Parliament holden the 21. years of King Richard was wholly repealed: and they who were attainted by that Parliament, were restored againe to their fame and honour, and to their Lands, without suing livery, and to such goods whercof the King was not answer'd, except the rents and issues which had bene received out of their lands in the meane time. Hereupon, Richard Earle of *Gloucester* was delivered out of prison, and the Earle of *Arundell* Sonne recovered his inheritance: many others also that were

were banished or imprisoned by King Richard, were then fully restored againe, to their Countrey, Liberty, and Estate.

It was further provided, that none of those which came in aid of King Henry against King Richard, should for that cause bee impeached or troubled. Also the King gave to the Earle of *Westmerland* the Countie of *Richmond*; and to the Earle of *Northumberland* hee gave the Ile of *Man*, to bee houlden of him by the service of bearing the sword, wherewith hee entered into England. Divers other of his followers he advanced to offices of highest place and charge; some upon judgement and for desert, but most part to winne favour, and perhaps projecting a plot for friends, if times should change: for in many actions men take more care to prevent revenge, than to lead an innocent and harmlesse life.

It was further agreed, that the Blouders of the death and Murder

of *Thomas* late Duke of *Gloucester*, should bee searched out and severely punished. And judgement was given against the appellants of the Earle of *Warwick* and the Earle of *Arundel*, that the Dukes of *Humberle*, *Sussex*, and *Exeter*, the Marquess of *Dorset*, and the Earle of *Gloucester* who were present, should loose their degree of honour for them and their Heires: that they should likewise loose all the Castles, Mannours, Lordships, &c. then in their hands which sometimes appertained to those whom they did appeale, and that all the letters patents and charters which they had concerning the same, should bee surrendered into the Chancery, and there bee cancelled: that for all other their Castles, Mannours, Lordships, Possessions, and Liberties, they should bee at the grace and mercy of the King: that they should give no liveryes, nor keepe any retinue of men, but onely such Officers as were merely necessary for their degree:

degree: that if any of them should adhere to *Richard* the deposed King, in giving him aid or encouragement, against the judgement of his deposition, then hee should incur the paines and forfeitures of high treason. And because it was a clamorous complaint among the Common people, that many Officers had committed grievous extortions and wrongs; either by the open maintenance or secret connivence of these Lords. First, those Officers were removed, and that corruption taken away with integrity, which bribery had wrought, in placing (for money) men of bad quality, in high degrees of office and service: then Proclamations were made, that if any man had beene oppressed by these Lords, or by any Officers under them, he should prove his complaint, & receive recompence. It was made a question whether it was not meet that these Noble men should be put to death: the importunity of the people,

people, and the perswasion of many great men drew that way, but policy was against it, and especially the opinion of clemency, which seemed needfull to the setting of a new risen state.

In this Parliament also, the Lord *Fitzwater* appealed the said Duke of *Summers*, Sonne to the Duke of *York*, upon points of High treason; likewise the Lord *Monky* appealed *John Manners* Earle of *Salisbury*, and more then twenty other appellants waged battaile; but the King purposing to lay the foundation of his Reigne by favour and not by force, gave pardon and restitution alike to all, upon ouration and band for their allegiance; and in a sweet and moderate oration hec admonisheth, and as it were intreated the one part, that old griefes and grudges should not bee renewed, but buried together with the memory of former times, wherein men were wonted to doe many things against their minds;

the

the other part hee desired to (bee
more regardfull of their actions af-
terwards, and for the time past, ra-
ther to forget that ever they were
in fault, then to remember that they
were pardoned. No punishment
was laid upon any, save onely the
Bispe of *Salisbury* and the Lord
Arundell, who had bene in espe-
ciall grace and favour with King
Richard: these two were commit-
ted to prison, but at the sute of their
friends they were soone released:
the rest the King received freely
to favour, but most especially the
Duke of *Gloucester*, and the Duke
of *Exeter*, Lord Governour of
Calis. The Duke of *Gloucester* was
cousin germane to both the Kings:
John Holland Duke of *Exeter*, was
halfe brother to King *Richard*, and
brother in law to King *Henry*, whose
sister, the Lady *Elizabeth*, hee had
taken to wife. The greatest mat-
ter that was enforced against them,
was their loyalty unto King *Richard*: (a grievous crime among re-
bels)

bels) because they did not onely stomach and storme at his dejection, but stirre also more then others, and assay to raise forces on his behalfe. The Dukes boldly confessed the accusation, that they were indeed unfortunately faithfull to King *Richard* but as those who once are false, doe seldome afterwards prove soundly firme, so they that have shewed themselves true to one Prince may the better bee trusted by any other. The King did rather admit this as a defence, then omit it as a fault: affirming, that such examples were not to bee misliked of Princes: so hee entered with them into great termes of friendship, and put them in place neerest his person, endeavouring by courtesie and liberality, to make them fast and faithfull unto him: this fact was diversly interpreted, according to mens severall dispositions, some admiring the Kings moderation, others disliking and disallowing his confidence: and indeed, although these meanes have to this purpose pre-

prevailed with some, yet the common course may move us commonly to conjecture, that there is little assurance in reconciled enemies: whose affections (for the most part) are like unto Glasse; which being once cracked, can never bee made otherwise then crazed and unsound.

Furthermore, to qualifie all prejudice and hard opinion which other Princes might chance to conceive, King Henry dispatched Embassadors to divers Countries neere unto him, to make it knowne by what title, and by what favour and desire of all the people hee attained the Kingdome. To the Court of Rome, hee sent *John Trevenant* Bishop of *Hereford*, *Sir John Cheyney* Knight, and *John Cheyney* Esquire: into France hee sent *Walter Sherlow* Bishop of *Durham*, and Lord *Thomas Percy* Earle of *Worcester*: into Spain, hee sent *John Trevor* Bishop of *S. Asaphes*, and *Sir William Parr*, and

and into *Almaine* hee sent the Bishop of *Banger*, and certaine other. Most of these Princes (as in a matter which little concerned either their honour or their harme) seemed either not to regard what was done, or easily to bee perswaded that all was done well. But *Charles* King of *France*; was so distempered at this dishonourable dealing with his Sonne in law King *Richard*, that by violence of his passion, hee fell into his old panges of pencie, and at the last by helpe of physick returning to the sobriety of his senses, hee purposed to make sharpe warre upon that disloyall people (as hee termed them) for this injury against their lawfull and harmlesse Prince. Many Noble men of *France* shewed themselves very forward to enter into the service, but especially the Earle of *Saint Paul*, who had married King *Richard* his Sister. So letters of defiance were sent into *England*, and great preparation was made for the warre.

Like.

Likewise the newes of these no-
uelties much abashed the *Aquitans*
(who were at that time under the
English subjection) and plunged their
thoughts in great perplexities.
Some were grieved at the infam-
ous blemish of the *English* na-
tion, who had defained their ho-
nour with the spot of such disloyall
dealing; others feared the spoile
of their goods, and oppression of
their liberties by the *French* men;
against whose violence they sus-
pected that the Realme of *England*,
being distracted into ciuill factions,
either would not attend, or should
not be able to bear them out: but
the Citizens of *Bordeaux* were
chiefly anguished in respect of
King *Richard*, partly fretting at his
injury, and partly lamenting his in-
fortunity; because hee was borne
and brought up within their Ci-
ty. And thus in the violence, some
of their anger, some of their griefe,
and some of their feare, in this sort
they did generally complain.

show

O good

O good God (said they) where
 is the World become? Saints are
 turned to Serpents, and Doves into
 Divels. The *English* nation which
 hath bene accounted fierce onely
 against their foes, and alwayes faith-
 full to their friends; are now become
 both fierce and faithlesse against their
 lawfull and loving Prince, and have
 most barbarously betrayed him.
 Who would ever have thought
 that Christians, that civill people,
 that any men, would thus have vio-
 lated all Religion, all Lawes, and
 all honest and orderly demeanure?
 And although the Heavens blush at
 the view, and the Earth sweat at
 the burthen of so vile a villany, and
 all men proclaime and exclaime
 upon shame and confusion against
 them; yet they neither feele the hor-
 rour, nor shrink at the shame, nor
 feare the revenge; but stand upon
 tearmes, some of defence for the law-
 fulnesse of their dealing, and some
 of excuse for the necessity. Well,
 let them be able to blind the
 World,

World, and to resist man's revenge,
 yet shall they never be able to escape
 either the sight or vengeance of Al-
 mighty God, which we daily ex-
 pect, and earnestly desire to be
 poured upon them. Alas good
 King Richard, thy nature was too
 gentle, and thy government too
 mild for so stiff and stubborn a peo-
 ple: what King will ever repose
 any trust in such unnatural subjects,
 but fetter them with Lawes, as
 thieves are with Irons? What ear-
 rage hereafter can recover their cre-
 dit? What time will be sufficient to
 blot out this blemish? What other
 action could they have done, more
 joyfull to their enemies, more wo-
 full to their friends, and more shame-
 full to themselves? Oh corrup-
 tion of times! Oh conditions of
 men! How now nam'd is nobility
 The French-men were nothing
 discontented at this discomfiment
 of the Aquitanes, supposing that the
 opportunity was then offered, to get
 to their possession the Batche of
 Guian,

Guian, if either power or policie were thereto applyed. Hereupon *Lewes Duke of Burbon* came downe to *Angiers*, who from thence sent many messengers to the chiefe cities of *Guian*, and by faire speeches and large promises, solicited the people to change allégeance: on the contrary side, *Sir Robert Knowles* Lieutenant of *Guian*, endeavoured with al diligence to repress the mutinous, to stay the doubtfull, to confirme the good, and to retaine all in order and obedience: but hee profited very little, whether by the weaknesse of his owne arme, or stiffe neck of the people it is not certainly assured, Neither did the Duke of *Burbone* much prevaile, when it was considered, how ponderous the yonke of *France* was above the English subjection: for all men were well acquainted with what tributes and taxation the French-men were charged, having in every countrey Lieutenants and Treasurers assigned, the one to draw the blood, the other

other the substance of the slavish
subjects, whose cruelty and covetousness laid hold without exception upon all, the one tormenting by force, and the other undoing by Law. Thus stood the Aquitanes upon tickle termes betwene obedience and revolt, as a ship which the wind driveth oneway, & the tide another: desirous they were to displease the English, but loath to endanger and undoe themselves.

Vpon advertisement whereof, King Henry sent into *Gaiian*, the Lord *Thomas Perce* Earle of *Worcester*, whom hee knew to bee faithfull unto him, and expert in matters of charge, having in his company a strong and serviceable band of souldiers: who not by unseasonable exprobatings their fault, but by reason, convincing it, partly with his wisdom and credit so perswaded, and partly with his authority and forces so terrified the wayering people, that hee wanne them to his
O 2 opinion,

opinion, and confirmed them in their
allegeance: the graver sort with
respect of duty and faith, the rest
with regard and feare of danger.
Then hee received oaths of obedi-
ence unto King *Henry*, and planted
certaine strong garrisons in places of
chiefe import, without molestation
if they remayned quiet, and yet of
force to repressse them, if they should
rebell. This done, he turned againe
into *England*, where he shewed an
excellent example of moderation, in
seeming rather to have found, then to
have made the Aquitanes dutifull
subjects.

No sooner could this sturre be stur-
red, but another more dangerous
and desperate did forthwith arise:
for divers noble men who either had
dissembled, or did repent the fur-
therance that they used to the ad-
vancement of King *Henry*, did con-
spire together to compasse his de-
struction: the Histories of that time
doe vary, concerning the causes of
this conspiracy; whether it were for
favour

favour to King Richard, as the nature
of man is inclinable, to behold sud-
daine misfortune with a pittifull eye;
or for enuy to King Henry, as com-
monly wee can endure excessive for-
tune, no where so little as in those
that have becom in equall degree
with our selves: or whether upon
dishonours received in the late Par-
liament, or upon disdain to see o-
thers goe before them in the Princes
favour, many sought to revenge their
unjust anger with lawd dishonour:
likewise it is not secretly known by
what means the workers thereof
were drawne together, and the secret
devise of some imparted to the rest,
whether one of them did perswade
another to enter into the action, or
whether all were induced by the same
inconstant disposition, and light ac-
count of feith: which being obte-
nued so. K. Richard was afterwards
upon every light discomentment
little respected to any, but concei-
ving these matters, the most current
report is this: *Alguns* and *his*
died

There was at that time an Abbot of *Westminster*, one that applyed his studies, not as the most part, to cloake idlenesse and sloath under the glorious title of religion, but to enable himselfe for counsaile and direction in publike affaires; who for the generall opinion of his wisdom and integrity was in good favour and credit with King *Richard*, and did accompany him in his last voyage into *Ireland*.

This Abbot called to his remembrance, a speech which hee heard once fall from King *Henry*, when hee was but Earle of *Derby*, and not yet come to any great stayednesse, either in yeares or judgement; that Princes had too little, and religious men too much.

At that time the riches of the Church were growne so great, that many began to looke upon them with an envious eye; but lest covetousnesse should shew it selfe with open face, policie was pretended, and the excesse thought dangerous, both

both to the King and also to the
 Clergy; as very like to cause want
 to the one, and wantonnesse in the
 other. Hereupon many bills had been put
 up in the Parliaments holden in the
 Reigne of King Richard, that provi-
 sion might bee made to repress the
 increase of religious possessions;
 namely, that inquisition and redresse
 might be had against such religious
 persons, as under the licence to pur-
 chase ten pounds yearly, did purchase
 fourescore, or a hundred pounds;
 and also against such religious per-
 sons as caused their villaines to take
 to their wives free-women, inheri-
 table, whereby the Lands came to
 those religious mens hands: yet it
 was moved in open Parliament, that
 the King should seaze into his
 hands, all the temporall Livings of
 religious houses, as being rather
 a burthen, then a benefit unto re-
 ligion.

O 4

Vpon

1. Upon the same and the like Petitions,
 the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and
 the Archbishop of *York*, for them-
 selves and the Clergy of their Pro-
 vinces, were oftentimes compelled to
 make their solemn protestations in
 open Parliament, that if any thing
 were attempted in restraint of the li-
 berty of the Church, they would in
 no wise assent, but utterly withstand
 the same: to the which their protesta-
 tions they required to be entreated.
 2. So partly upon love to King *Ro-
 bert*, and partly upon fear, *Isabel*,
Henry would be as ready to invade,
 as he was to invade againe the rich-
 nesse of religious houses: this Abbot
 was the first man that blew the candles
 and put fire to the fire of this con-
 federacy. And first he observed a
 face off, then hee searched more
 deeply and narrowly (and verabare-
 ly too) how the minds of our noble
 Noble men were affected, nor rather
 infected against King *Henry*; tempe-
 ring his speeches in such sort, that if
 matters sorted to his mind, hee might
 take

take them upon him, if his counsellors
were crossed; hee might dewely
disclaime them: at last hee invited
to his house upon a day, in Michaelmas
termes, those whom he had
founded to bee most bound for his
purpose: the chiefe of whom were
such as in the Parliament before had
in some sort bene touched in repro-
bation, although by pardon and recon-
cilement the harme did seeme to bee
closed up: their names were John
Holland Duke of Exeter, of whom
mention hath bene made before,
Thomas Holland his brother Sonne,
Duke of Surrey, Edward Duke of
Aumerye, John Montdore, Earle of
Salisbury, Hugh Spencer, Earle of
Glocester, John Bishop of Exeter,
Sir Thomas Blunt, and Sir Thomas
one of King Richard Chappell, who
in all points, both of feature and fa-
vour, so neatly resembled King Ri-
chard, that the Lords assembled af-
terwards, that hee was King Richard
indeed.

These and some others were high

ly feasted by the Abbot : and after dinner they withdrew themselves, into a secret Chamber to counsaile : here the Duke of Exeter, who was most hotly bent, either to restore, or to revenge the cause of his deposed brother, declared unto the rest, the allegiance that they had sworn unto King Richard : the honours and preferments wherunto they were by him advanced : that therefore they were bound both in conscience by the one, and in kindnesse by the other, to take his part against all men : that King Henry contrary to both, had dispoyled him of his royall dignity, and unjustly possessed himselfe thereof, whilest they stood looking on, and shewed neither the obedience of subjects, nor love of friends, as though they were men who knew to doe any thing, better then to defend, and if need were to dye for their lawfull Prince and loving Patron : that King Henry by violent invading, or fraudulent insinuating himselfe into the

the kingdom of his naturall & liege
 Prince, was but a tyrant & usurper, &
 such as it was lawful for any man,
 by any means to throw down, with-
 out respect whether hee were a good
 man or evill, for it is lawfull for no
 man upon pretence & shew of good-
 nes, to draw sovereignty unto himselfe,
 that the laws & examples of best go-
 verned common-wealths, did not on-
 ly permit this action, but highly hono-
 red it with statues & garlands, & title
 of Nobility, & also rewarded it with
 all the wealth of the suppressed tyrant:
 that this enterprize would be very
 profitable, & almost necessary to the
 Common-wealth, by extinguishing
 those wars which the Scots menaced,
 the French-men prepared, & the
 Welshmen had already begun upon
 this occasion and quarrells: that he did
 not distrust but it might be accompli-
 shed by open armes, but he thought it
 more safe for them, and for the Com-
 mon-wealth more safe, to put first in
 private some secret policy: and
 to that purpose hee devised, that a
 soleinne

solemn Iusts should bee challenged, to be kept at Oxford, in Christmasse holy dayes betweene him and twenty on his part, and the Earle of Salisbery and twenty on his part, to which King Henry should be invited: and when hee was most intentive in regarding their military dilport, hee should suddenly be surpris'd by men, which without suspicion might at that time bee assembled, both for number and preparation sufficient for the exploit, and thereby King Richard presently be restored, both to his liberty, and to his estate.

This devise was no sooner uttered, then allowed and applauded of the rest of the confederates: and so resolving upon the Enterprize, they tooke an oath upon the Evangelists, the one to bee true and secret to the other, even to the house and point of death: the Lords also made an Indenture, wherein they bound themselves, to doe their best may, for the death of the said King, and deliverance of the other: this

they

they sealed and subscribed, and delivered to every Lord a counter-pane of the same, and further they concluded what forces should be gathered, by whom, how they should be ordered & placed, and to whose trust the execution should be committed.

When all things were thus contrived, and their hungry ambitious minds were well filled with the vain winds of hope and desire, the Duke of Exeter came to the King at Windsor, & desired him for the love that he bare to the noble feat of Chevaliers, that hee would vouchsafe to honour with his presence the martiall exercise, that was appointed betwene him and the Earle of Salisbury, and to be the Judge of their performances, if any controversy should arise.

The King supposing that to be intended indeed, which was pretended in shew, easily yelded to his request.

The Duke supposing his purpose now half performed, departed to his house, and so did the other benefactors, where they busily bestowed
them.

themselves, in rayfing men, and preparing horfe and armour for the accomplifhment of this act.

When the Dutcheffe of Excester, K. Henries fifters perceived the drift of the devise, and faw that the Duke was upon his journey: alas good Lady how was fhee diftracted in mind, with a fharp conflict of her conceits: one way fhe was moved wth nature towards her brother; another way fhe was more ftrongly ftirred, with love towards her Lord and husband: and both wayes fhe was divided in duty. And what (faid fhee) is this love then againft nature? or a-bove it? Shall I bee undutifull to my Prince? or is no duty comparable to the duty of a wife? heigh ho: in what perplexities (wretched woman) am I plunged; to fee my two deareft friends in this cafe of extremity, that (it is doubtfull which but) certainly one muft bee ruined by the other. Herewith fuch a fhower of teares ftreamed downe her cheekes, that it drowned her fpeech, and ftopped the

the passage of further complaint :
which when the Duke espyed ,
hee stepped unto her , and seazing
softly upon her hand , used these
words. What *Besse* ? is it kind-
nesse to me, or kindred to your bro-
ther that thus hath set your eyes
on floate ? Content your selfe wo-
man , for whatsoever the event
shall bee , it cannot bee evill to
you , nor worse to mee then now
it is. For if my purpose prevaile,
and my brother be restored againe
to his Crowne , both of us shall
bee sure never to decline : if it
be prevented , and your brother
continue still in his estate , no harme
shall bee done unto you , and I
shall bee sure then of that destru-
ction which I doe now continually
dread , the feare whereof in expe-
cting , is a greater torment then the
paine in suffering. When he had thus
said , hee kissed her , and so leaving
her to the torture of a thousand
thorny thoughts , hee tooke his
journey towards *Oxford* , with a
great

great company both of Archers and
Horsemen. There hee found all the
rest of his complices well armed and
banded; except only the Duke of
Buckingham.

The King also hearing that both
the Challengers and Defendants
were in a readinesse, determined the
day following to ride to Oxford, ac-
cording to his promise and appoint-
ment.

Now the confederates much mar-
velled at the stay of the Duke of
Buckingham, some onely blamed his
slacknesse; others began to suspect it,
every man conjectured as he was di-
versly affected betwene confidence
and feare; and in this confusion of
opinions, they sent unto him in poste,
to know the certaintie thereof. Before the
Messenger came to the Duke, he was
departed from ~~his father~~ towards
Oxford, not the direct way, but went
first to see his Father the Duke of
Buckingham, and carried with him the coun-
terparts of the Indentures of confe-
deracy. As they were at dinner, the Fa-

ther

ther espied it in his bosome, and demanded what it was, the son humbly craved pardon, and said that it nothing touched him; by Saint George, (quoth the Father) but I will see it: and so whether upon precedent jealousy, or some present cause of suspicion he tooke it away from him by force. When he perceived the contents, he suddenly arose from the table, and with great fiercenesse, both of countenance and speech, uttered to his Sonne these words, *or hast thou*
I see traytor, that idlenesse hath
made thee so wanton and mutinous,
that thou playest with thy faith, as
children doe with ticks: thou hast
beene once already faithlesse to King
Richard, and now againe art false to
Me Henry, so that like the fish Spine,
thou troublest all the waters where
in thou livest. Thou knowest that in
open Parliament I became surety and
pledge for thy allegiance, both in bo-
dy and goods: and can neither thy
duty, nor my desert restrain thee,
from seeking my destruction? In
faith,

faith, but I will rather helpe forward
thine. With that hee commanded
his Horses to be made ready, and
presently tooke his journey towards
Windsore, where the King then
lay.

The Duke of *Aumerle* had no
time either to consult with his
friends, or to consider with himselfe
what was best to be done: but taking
advise upon the sodaine hee moun-
ted likewise on horse-backe, and
posted towards *Windsore* another
way. It was no need to force him
forward, his youthfull blood, and
his sodaine danger were in steed of
two wings, to keepe his horse
at *Pegasus* pace: so that hee came
to *Windsore*, and was alighted
at the Castle, before his Nisse aged Fa-
ther could come neere. Then he en-
tered the gates, and caused them to
be surely locked, and tooke the keyes
into his owne hands, pretending
some secret cause for which hee
would deliver them unto the
King. When hee came in presence
hee

hee kneeled down and humbly craved
of the King mercy and forgiveness.
The King demanded for what of-
fence? Then with a confused voice
and sad countenance, calling
downe his eyes as altogether abash-
ed, partly with feare of his dan-
ger, and partly with shame of his
discredit; hee declared unto the
King all the manner of the conspira-
cie. The King seemed neither rash-
ly to beleeve, nor negligently to
distrust the Dukes report; neither
stood it with policie to entertaine
the discovery with any hard and vio-
lent usage; therefore with gra-
cious speeches hee comforted the
Duke; and if this bee true, said
hee, wee pardon you: if it bee
feined, as your extreame perill bee
By this time the Duke of Yorke
was rapping at the Castle gates, and
being admitted to the Kings pre-
sence, hee delivered to him the
Indenture of confederacie, which
he had taken from his sonne. When
the

the King had read in, and was thereby
 perswaded of the truth of the mat-
 ter. Hee was not a little disquieted in
 mind, complayning of the unconstant
 disposition of those men, whom nei-
 ther cruelty (hee said) could make
 firme to King Richard, nor cleme-
 ncy to him, but upon dislike of every pre-
 sent government, they were desirous
 of any change. So being possessed
 with deeper thoughts, then to gaze
 upon games, hee layd his journey
 aside, and determined to attend
 Windsor, what course his enemies
 would take, and which way they
 would set forward; knowing right
 well, that in civill troubles, an ad-
 vantage, and opportunity well
 taken are the onely weapons of
 advantage; and that it is a special
 point of wisdom, to make benefit
 of the enemies folly; in this clear
 time he directed his letters to the
 Earle of Northumberland, his high
 Constable, and to the Earle of Cam-
 berland, his high Marshall, and to
 others his most assured friends, concern-
 ing

ing these sudden and unexpected accidents.

The confederates all this time hearing nothing of the Duke of An-
Arle, and seeing no preparation for
the Kings coming, were out of
doubt that their treason was betray-
ed. And now considering that once
before they had been pardoned, the
guilt of this their rebellion, excluded
them from all hope of further mer-
cy: whereupon they became des-
perate, and so resolved to prosecute
that by open arms, wherein their
privie practices had fayled. And
first they apparelled *Magdalen* (a
man very like to King *Richard*, both
in stature and countenance, and of
years not disagreeable) in princely
attire, and gave forth that he was
King *Richard*, and that either by fa-
vour or negligence of his keepers,
he was escaped out of prison, and
desired the faith and ayde of his lo-
ving subjects. Then they deter-
mined to dispatch messengers to
Charles King of *France*, to desire
his

his helpe and assistance on the behalfe
of his sonne in law, if need should
require.

The common people which com-
monly are soone changeable, and on
the sodaine, as prone to pittie, as they
were before excessively cruell, most
earnestly wished the enlargement of
King *Richard*, and earnestly wishing
did easily beleeeve it: in which ima-
ginary conceit, being otherwise
men of no deepe search, the presence
of *Magdalene* most strongly con-
firmed them, and so either upon ig-
norance of truth, or delight in trou-
ble, they joynd themselves in great
troops to the Lords; desiring no-
thing more then to bee the meanes
whereby King *Richard* should be re-
stored, as in a manner resuming their
first affections and humours towards
him. Then the Lords of this asso-
ciation with great force, but with
greater fame, as the manner is of mat-
ters unknowne, advanced forward
in battell array towards *Windsore*, a-
gainst King *Henry*, as against an ene-
my

day of the common state; having in
their company above forty thousand
armed men. The King upon intel-
ligence of their approach, secretly
with a few horse, the next Sunday
night after New-yeares day, depar-
ted from *Windsore* to the Tower of
London, and the same night before
it was day, the confederates came to
the Castle of *Windsore*: where mis-
sing their expected prey, they stood
doubtfull and divided in opinions,
which way to bend their course.
Some advised them with all speed to
follow the King to *London*, and not
to leave him any leave and liberty, to
unite an Army against them: that
Winter was no let but in idle and
peaceable times: that in civill dissen-
sions nothing is more safe then
speed, and greater advantage alwayes
groweth by dispatching then defer-
ring: that whilst some were in
fear, some in doubt, and some igno-
rant, the Citie, yea the Realme might
easily be possessed: and that many
Armies whose fury at the first rush
could

could not be resisted by delays, did
waste out, and waste to nothing.
Others who would seeme to be con-
siderate and wise, but in very deed
were no better then dastards, per-
swaded rather to set King Richard
first at liberty; for if their coun-
selling should be discovered before
they possessed themselves of his per-
son, the people undoubtedly would
fall from them to the certaine confu-
sion of them all. Hereupon they
gave over the pursuit, and retired
to *Colebrooke*, and there delayed out
the time of doing, in deliberating,
being neither courageously quick,
nor considerately stayed, but faintly
and fearefully shrinking backe: and
when they once began to relent, they
decreased every day more and more
both in power and in hope.

King Henry the next morning af-
ter he was come to the Tower, sent
to the Mayor of the Citie to put Soul-
diers in armes for his assistance, who
presently presented unto him three
thousand Archers, and six thousand
blues

land

land bill-men, besides those that were appointed for defence of the Citie. The King spent upon him many good speeches, and liberally loaded him with promises and thanks: and soone after hee issued out of *London*, with twenty thousand tall men, and came to *Hounslow* Heath, abiding there, and as it were daring his enemies to joyne issue in the field: contemning their disorderly multitude, as a vaine terrour of names without forces. But the confederates, either for feare of the Kings power, or for distrust of their owne, or else lingering, perhaps, after some succour out of *France*, refused the encounter; and doubtfull it is whether they shewed greater courage in setting up the danger, or cowardise, in declining it when it was presented unto them.

So they departed from *Colebrooke* to *Sunnings*, a place neere *Redding*, where *Queene Isabell*, King *Richards* wife did then abide:

to whom upon the plain truth before declared fame had falsly descanted, that *K. Richard* was escaped out of prison, and did lye at *Pomfret* with a hundred thousand armed men; and that *King Henry* for feare of him, was fled with his children and friends to the Tower of *London*. All which was as lightly beleeved as it was vainely told: whereupon she defaced *King Henry's* armes, and plucked away his cognisance from those his servants that attended upon her; and having in some sort satisfied her womannish anger, with this harmlesse spight, shee and the Lords departed together first to *Wallinsford*, and from thence to *Abington*, stirring the people by the way to take armour, and to rise in ayde of *King Richard*, who was (said they) and is, and should be their Prince.

At the last they came to *Chichester* and there the Lords tooke their lodgings, the Duke of *Surrey*, and the Earle of *Salisbury* in one Inne; the Duke of *Exeter*, and the Earle of

of Gloucester in another; and all the
hoast encamped in the fields. But
the Bayliffe of the Towne, suspecting
all this countenance, to bee but the
vaine flash of a false fire, did in the
night with about fourescore Archers,
beset, and set upon the house where
the Duke of Surrey, and the Earle
of Salisbury lay; who were men
but of weake resistance by nature,
but being put upon necessity, shew-
ed great man-hood and resistance in
defending themselves against the
Town-men. The Duke of Exeter,
and the Earle of Gloucester being in
another Inne, were not able by force
to rescue their associates; whereupon
a certaine Priest of their company set
divers houses in the Towne on fire,
supposing thereby to divert the
townsmen from their assault, to the
saving of their houses and of their
goods: but this fire greatly inflamed
their fury, and made them more ob-
stinate in their attempt, crying out
that they would never labour to re-
scue their losses, but to revenge them,

and that with the blood of the Lords, vvhose flames should be quenched. Then there arose confused clamours, and noyses, all the towne being in an uproare, and in armes, shooting fiercely, and running upon the Lords with a rash and desperaterage; not caring to loose many, whereof they had many to spare.

When the Earle of *Exeter*, and they that were with him, perceived the force of the assaylants dangerously to encrease, and that it was impossible for a few to sustaine the fury of so many so obstinately bent: they fled out of the back-side towards the Camp, intending to bring the whole Armie to the rescue: but the souldiers having heard a tumult, and seeing fire within the towne, supposed that the King was entred with all his puissance: whereupon being strooke with a sodain and false feare, and wanting a Commander of courage to confirme them, they ran away, and dispersed themselves without measure; and so whilst every
man

man endeavoured to save himselfe,
all were brought to their confusion.

Thus the Duke of *Surrey*, and the
Earle of *Salisbury*, and the Lords,
and Gentlemen which were in their
company, were left to defend
themselves against the townes-
men as they could: who man-
fully maintained the fight with
great bloodshed of their ene-
mies, from midnight untill three
of the clocke the next day in
the afternoone: at the last, being
inferiour both in number and
fortune, the Duke and the Earle
were wounded to death and ta-
ken, and the same Evening their
heads were stricken off and sent to
London: there were also taken
Sir *Bonnet Shelley*, Sir *Barnard*
Brokas, Sir *Thomas Blunt*, and
twenty eight other Lords, Knights,
and Gentlemen, who were sent
to *Oxford*, where the King then
lay, and there were put to execu-
tion.

The Duke of *Exeter* when he found

the Army disperſed and fled, fled
likewiſe with *Sir John Shelley* into
Eſſex, lamenting the certaine de-
ſtruction which his raſhneſſe had pro-
cured to himſelfe, and to his friends,
but moſt eſpecially to King *Richard*,
if not as a party, yet as a cauſe of
this unhappy tumult; many times
hee did attempt to have eſcaped by
Sea into *France*; but hee was alwayes
driven backe by diſtreſſe of weather;
and ſo wandering and lurking in ſecret
places, hee was at the laſt attached as
hee ſate at ſupper in a certain friends
houſe, and led to *Plaſhy*, and there
ſhortly after beheaded: ſo that a man
might probably conjecture that the
death of the Duke of *Glouceſter*,
was then brought in reckoning, who
by his counſell and contrivance
chiefly, in the ſame place had bene
apprehended. An excellent exam-
ple for all thoſe which meaſure their
Actions either by their pleaſure, or
by their power: that revenge of
injurious dealing, although it be pro-
longed, yet doth never fayle, but
com-

commeth surely, although perhaps slowly. This Duke was a man of high parentage, of a franke mind, and wealth answerable thereunto: openly praise worthy, but his secret actions were hardly spoken of: hee was of consent to all his brothers vices, and of counsaile to many, yet somewhat the more close and vigilant man: and not so much partaker of his prosperity, as violently carried with the current of his misery.

The Earle of Gloucester fled towards Wales, but was forelayed and taken, and beheaded at Bristol: *Margalen* the countesse of King *Richard*, flying into Scotland, was apprehended and brought to the Tower, and afterward hanged and quartered, with *W. Ferby*, another of King *Richards* Chaplaines. Divers other Lords and Knights, and Gentlemen, and a great number of meane and base persons, were in other places put to death; insomuch as the King, though otherwise of a very temperate, and inreatale na-

ture, seemed to shew too hard and haughty dealing in revenging his owne injury, or rather maintaining the injury that hee had done: the heads of the chiefe conspirators, were pitched upon poles, and set over *London Bridge*: in all other parts of the Realme a spectacle both lamentable and ugly was presented to the view and terrour of others: bodies hewen in peices, heads and quarters of unfortunate dismembred wretches putrifying above ground: not all for desert, but many to satisfie, either the malice, or want of King *Henries* friends; insomuch as many grave men openly gave forth, that in short time there would be cause to wish King *Richard* againe, as being more tolerable to endure the crueltie of one, then of many, and to live where nothing, then where any thing might bee permitted.

The Abbot of *Westminster* in whose house, and in whose head the confederacy began, hearing of these adventures,

ventures, as hee was going between
his Monastery and his Mansion fell
sodainely into a palsey, and shortly
after without speech ended his life;
and although in this enterprise for-
tune gave policie the check, and by a
strange accident, which wisdom
could not foresee, overturned the de-
vise, yet is it certainly affirmed,
that this Abbot first stirred the stone,
which rowling along, was like to
have turned King Henry, out of his
seate. The Bishop of *Caerliel*, was
condemned upon this treason, but
the extremity of his feare, and griefe,
closed up his dayes, and prevented
the violence and shame of publike
execution. And now King *Richard*
after he had abdicated his dignity,
did but short time enjoy that sweet
security, which hee did vainly ex-
pect, and first all his goods which he
did give in satisfaction of the injuries
that he had done, were brought to di-
vision & share amongst his enemies:
shortly after he was removed from the
tower, to the castle of *leeds* in *Yent*,

and from thence to *Pamfret*, to the end that by often changing he might either more secretly be dispatched, or more uncertainly found: here being kept in streight prison, both innocent and ignorant of this offence, hee was notwithstanding made a party in the punishment. For King *Henry* perceiving that the Lords so farre prevailed with their late stratagem, that if their stomach had beene answerable to their strength, and their bold beginning had not ended in faintnesse and sloath, they might have driven him to a hard hazard; caused King *Richard* to bee put to death, intending to make sure, that no man should cloak open rebellion, under the colour of following sides, nor countenance his conspiracy, either with the person or name of *K. Richard*: whether he did expressly command his death, or no, it is a question; out of question he shewed some liking and desire to the action, and gave allowance thereto when it was done.

The most current report at that time

time went, that he was princely ser-
 ved every day at the Table, with a-
 bundance of costly meats, according
 to the order prescribed by Parliament,
 but was not suffered to taste or touch
 any one of them; and so perished of
 famine; being tormented with the
 presence of that, whereof hee dyed
 for want, but such horrible and
 unnaturall cruelty, both against a
 King and a kins-man, should not
 proceed from King Henry (mee
 thinke) a man of a moderate and mild
 disposition, nor yet from any other
 mind, which is not altogether both
 savage in humanity, and in religion
 prophane. One writer who would
 seeme to have the perfect intelligence
 of these affayres, maketh report, that
 King Henry sitting at his Table sad and
 penive, with a deepe sigh brake forth
 into these words: Have I no faithfull
 friend that will deliver mee of him,
 whose life will breed destruction to
 mee and disturbance to the Realme,
 and whose death will bee a safety
 and quiet to both? for how
 can

can I be free from feare, so long as the cause of my danger doth continue? and what security, what hope shall we have of peace, unless the seed of sedition bee utterly rooted out.

Vpon this speech a certain Knight called Sir *Pierce* of *Exton*, presently parted from the Court, accompanied with eight tall men, and came to *Pomfret*, and there commanded, that the Esquire, who was accustomed to sewe, and take the assay before King *Richard*, should no more use that manner of service: and let him (quoth hee) now eat well, for he shall not eat long. King *Richard* sate downe to dinner, and was served without courtesie or assay, wher-at hee marvelled, and demanded of the Esquire, why he did not his duty? the Esquire answered, that hee was otherwise commanded by Sir *Pierce* of *Exton*, who was lately come from King *Henry*. The King being somewhat moved at his answer, tooke the carving knife in

In his hand, & struck the Esquire therewith lightly on the head, saying, the devil take *Henry of Lancaster* & thee together: with that *Sir Pierce* entred the Chamber, with eight men in harneys, every one having a bill in his hand: Whereupon King *Richard* perceiving their drift and his owne danger, put the table from him, and stepping stoutly to the formost man, wrested the bill out of his hand, wherewith (although unarmed and alone) hee manfully defended himselfe a good space, and slew foure of his assaylants. *Sir Pierce* leapt to the Chaice where King *Richard* was went to sit, whilest the rest chased him about the Chamber. At the last being forced towards the place where *Sir Pierce* was, hee with a stroake of his Pollax felled him to the ground: and forthwith hee was miserably rid out of his miserable life. It is said that at the point of his death, he gathered some spirit, and with a faint and feeble voice, groined forth these words: *I and boy*

My

My great Grandfather King Edward the second, was in this manner deposed, imprisoned, and murdered; by which meanes my Grandfather King Edward the third obtained possession of the Crowne; and now is the punishment of that injury powred upon his next successor. Well, this is right for me to suffer, but not for you to doe: your King for a time may joy at my death, and enjoy his desire; but let him qualifie his pleasures with expectation of the like justice: for God who measureth all our actions by the malice of our minds, will not suffer this violence unrevenge.

Whether these words proceeded from a distempered desire, or from the judgement of his foresight, they were not altogether idle and vaine. For Sir Pierce expecting great favour and rewards for his ungracious service, was frustrated of both, and not onely missed that countenance for which he hoped, but lost that which before he had:

bad: so odious are vices even where they are profitable.

Hereupon he grew at the first discontented, and afterwards mightily turmoyled and tormented in conscience, and raging against himselfe would often exclaime, that to pleasure one unthankfull person, hee had made both him selfe and his posterity, hatefull and infamous to all the world.

King Henry with great discontentment and disquiet held the Kingdoms during his life: and so did his sonne King Henry the fifth: in whose time by continuall warres against the French-men, the malice of the humour was otherwise exercised and spent. But his second successor King Henry the sixth was dispossessed thereof, and together with his young sonne Henry, imprisoned and put to death, either by the commandement or command of King Edward the fourth.

And

And hee also escaped not free ; for hee dyed not without many and manifest suspicions of poyson : and after his death his two sonnes were disinherited, imprisoned, and butchered by their cruell Vncle the Duke of *Gloucester*, who being a Tyrant and Vsurper, was lawfully slaine in the field ; and so in his person (having no issue) the tragedie did end. Which are most rare and excellent examples, both of comfort to them that are oppressed, and of terroure to violent Dealesers ; that God in his secret judgement doth not alwayes so certainly provide for our safety, as revenge our injuries and harmes : and that all our unjust actions have a day of payment, and many times by way of retaliation, even in the same manner and measure wherein they were committed.

And thus was king *Richard* brought to his death, by violence and force, as all Writers agree, although

though al agree not upon the manner
of the violence. He was a man of per-
sonage, rather wel proportioned then
tall, of great beauty, and grace, and
comelineffe in presence; hee was
of a good strength, and no abject
spirit; but the one by ease, the other
by flattery were much abased. Hee
deserved many friends, but found
few, because hee sought them more
by liberality, then vertuous dealing.
Hee was marvellous infortunate in
all his actions, which may very well
be imputed to his negligence and
sloath; for he that is not provident
can seldome prosper, but by his
loosenesse will lose, whatsoever
fortune, or other mens labours doe
cast upon him. At the last hee was
driven to such distresse, that hee
accounted it as a benefite, to be dis-
burdened of his royall dignity,
for which other men will not
sticke, to put their goods,
and lives, and soules in ha-
zard.

Hee

Hee lived three and thirty yeares, and reigned two and twenty. His dead body was embalmed, and sealed, and covered with Lead all save his face, and carried to *London*, and in all the chiefe places by the way, his face was uncovered and shewen, that by view thereof no doubt should bee made concerning his death. At *London* hee had a solemne obsequie kept in the Cathedrall Church of *Saint Paul*, the King being present, and all the chiefe men of the *Citie*.

Then hee was conveyed to *Langley Abbey* in *Buckinghamshire*, about twenty miles from *London*, and there obscurely entombed by the Bishop of *Chester*, the Abbot of *S. Albones*, and the Abbot of *Waltham*, without presence of noble men, without confluence of the common people, and without the charge of a dinner for celebrating the Funerals; but afterwarward at the commandement of King *Henry the fifth*, his body was taken up, and removed

moved to *Westminster*, and honourably entombed amongst his ancestors, with *Queene Anne* his wife, in expiation (as it is like) of his Fathers violent and unfaishfull dealing. So hee whose life was alwaies tumultuous and unquiet, could not readily find rest for his bones, even after death. It was not amisse in regard of the Common-wealth that hee was dead; yet they who caused his death had small reason to reckon it among their good deeds.

And thus doe these and the like accidents daily happen to such Princes as will bee absolute in power, resolute in will, and dissolute in life.

This yeare *Humfrey*, the sonne and heyre of the Duke of *Gloster*, dyed of the plague; as hee returned out of *Ireland*, where King *Richard* had let him prisoner and shortly after the Dutchesse his Mother with violence of griefe ended her dayes: this yeare also dyed

dyed *Thomas Mowbray* the Exiled Duke of *Norfolke*, whose death would much have been lamented, if hee had not furthered so many lamentable deaths: but he over-lived his honour, and saw himselfe accounted a person infamed and of no estimation. Likewise about this time, *Iohn Duke of Brittain* deceased, who had taken to wife *Mary* daughter to King *Edward* the third, and by her had no issue, but by *Ioan* his second wife, hee left behind him three sonnes, *Iohn*, *Richard*, and *Arthur*: this *Ioan* was afterwards married to King *Henry*: as hereafter shall appeare. Also this yeare *Edmund Duke of Yorke* departed this life, his honour not stayned, his fame not touch-ed: he was a man very circumspect and wary in his carriage, not carelesse of a good fame, nor greedy after a great: of other mens wealth not desirous, liberall of his owne, and of the common, sparing: hee did not by obstinate opposing himselfe

selfe against the current of the time,
 rashly hasten, either his fame, or his
 fall; but by moderation attained safe-
 ly that degree of prayse, and honour,
 which others aspiring unto by des-
 perate courses, wanne with ambi-
 tious death, without any other pro-
 fit at all. He left behind him two no-
 ble sons, expresse resemblancers of
 his integrity: *Edward*, who succee-
 ded in his dignity, and before was cal-
 led Duke of *Aumerle*, and *Richard*
 Earle of *Cambridge*. *Edward*, in
 the change of the state, neither con-
 stantly kept his fidelity, nor stoutly
 maintained his treason: *Richard*
 tooke to wife the daughter and
 heyre of *Roger Mortimer*, whose
 mother *Phillip* was sole daughter and
 heyre to *Lionell* Duke of *Clarence*,
 the third sonne of King *Edward* the
 third, by which title and discent,
 his posterity claimed the Crowne
 and Kingdome of this Realme from
 the successors of King *Henry*, as
 hereafter more at large shall be de-
 clared.

Charles

Charles King of *France* lost no time all this while in making preparation to invade *England*; and to that end had now rayfed an Army royall, which was brought downe into *Picardie*, and in a readinesse to have beene transported. But it is very like that this halte for the deliverance of King *Richard* did the more hasten his death: upon newes whereof the *French-men* perceiving their purpose for his restitution to bee to no purpose, gave over the enterprise; some being grieved that the occasion was lost of making spoyle of so plentifull a countrey, others being well content to be discharged of that hope, together with the hazard whereupon it depended. Shortly after the *French* King sent a solemne Embassage into *England*, to treat, or rather intreat, that Lady *Isabel* his daughter, who had beene espoused to King *Richard*, might with her dowrie bee restored to him againe. King *Henry* most honourably received these Embassadors, and gave in
an

answer, that he would speedily send his Commissioners to Calice, which should fully commune and conclude with them, both of this and other weighty affayres concerning both the Realmes.

Not long after hee sent Edward Duke of Torke, and Henry Earle of Northumberland to Calice: Also the French King sent the Duke of Burbone, and certaine others to Buleime. These Commissioners did often meet, sometimes at one place, and sometimes at another: the French-men especially required, that Lady Isabell should be restored, shewing that King Charles her Father had given in charge, that this before all matters, and without this nothing should be concluded. On the other side the Englishmen desired that shee might bee married to Henry Prince of Wales, King Henries eldest sonne, a man answerable to her in equall degree, both of blood and of years: but the French King denyed that hee would

would any more joyne affinity with the English nation, whose alliance had once so unfortunately succeeded: then they entred into speech of a perpetuall peace, but hereto the Frenchmen would not agree. In the end it was concluded that Lady *Isabell* should be delivered to King *Charles* her Father, but without Dower; because the marriage betweene King *Richard* and her, was never consummate: by reason whereof shee was not donable by the very treaty of the marriage. Also the surcease of armes which foure yeares before had beene made with King *Richard*, for the terme of thirty yeares, was continued and confirmed for the time then unexpired. Some Authors affirme, that a new truce was taken, but these also are at difference: for some report that it was during the life of both the Kings; others, that it was but for a short time, which hath the more apparance of truth, by reason of the open

open hostility which the yeare following did breake forth betweene the two Realmes.

Shortly after King Henry sent the Lady *Isabel* under the conduct of Lord *Thomas Percy* Earle of *Warwick*, in Royall estate to *Calis*: she was accompanied with a great troupe of honourable personages, both men and women; and carried with her all the Jewels and Plate which shee brought into *England*, with a great surpluse of rich gifts bestowed upon her by the King: at *Calis* shee was received by the Earle of *S. Paul*, Lieutenant for the *French* King in *Parady*, and by him was conducted to King *Charles* her Father, who afterwards gave her in marriage to *Charles* Sonne to *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*: and so was either rest, or respite of warres procured in *France*, whilest neerer stirres might bee brought to some stay.

For within the Realme, the fire and fury of the late sedition was scarcely quenched and quiet, but (that

the Common-wealth should not cease to bee torne, by multiplying of divisions, one streight succeeding another) the *Welshmen*, upon advantage of the doubtfull and unsetled estate of King *Henry* resolved to break and make a defection; before either the King could ground his authority, or the people frame themselves to a new obedience: and having learned that common causes must bee maintained by concord, they sought by assemblies to establish an association: and to set up their owne principality againe.

To this purpose they created for their Prince, *Owen Glendor* an Esquire of *Wales*, a factious Person, and apt to set up division and strife: and although hee was of no great state in birth; yet was hee great and statelie in stomach: of an aspiring Spirit: and in wit somewhat above the ordinary of that untrained people: bould, crafty, active, and as he listed to bend his mind, mischievous or industrious in equall degree, in desires immoderate, and

and rashly adventurous, in his young
 yeares he was brought up to the stu-
 dy of the Common law of the
 Realme, at *London*: and when hee
 came to mans estate, besides a naturall
 fiercenesse and hatred to the *Eng-
 lish* name, he was particularly incen-
 sed by a private suite, for certaine
 lands in controversie, betweene
 the Lord *Gray* of *Ruthen* and him;
 wherein his title was overthrowne;
 and being a man by nature not of the
 mildest, by this provocation he was
 made savadge and rough; determi-
 ning either to repaire or to revenge
 his losse, by setting the whole state on
 fire. Also his expence and liberality
 had beene too excessive for a great
 man to endure, which brought him
 to barenesse, too base for a meane man
 to beare: and therefore he must of ne-
 cessity doe and dare somewhat, and
 more danger there was in soft and
 quiet dealing, then in hazarding rash-
 ly. Herewith oportunitie was then
 likewise presented: for trouble some-
 times are most fit for great attempts,

and some likelihood there was, whilest the King and the Lords were hard at variance, that harme might easily bee wrought to them both. Vpon these causes his desire was founded, and vpon these troubles his hope. But that his aspiring and ambitious humour might beare some shew of honest meaning, hee pretended to his Countreyemen the recovery of their free estate, the desire whereof was so naturally sweet, that even wilde birds will rather live hardly at large in the aire, then be daintily dicted by others in a Cage; and opportunity was at that time fiely offered, or else never to bee expected, to rid them of their thraldome, falsely and colourably intituled a peace, whilest the one Kings power was waining, and the other not yet fully weken, and either of them grew weake by waisting the others: neither was their any difference which of them should prevaile, sith the warre touched both alike, inso much as the overthrow would ruine the one, and the

the victory the other; So he exhorted them to take courage and armes: and first to kill all the *English* within their territories, for liberty and Lords could not endure together: then to resume their ancient customs and lawes, whereby more then armes, Common-wealths are established and enlarged: so should they be a people uncorrupt, without admixion of forraigne manners of blood; and so should they forget servitude, and either live at liberty or else perhaps, be Lords over other.

Hereupon many flocked unto him, the best for love of liberty, the basest for desire of booty and spoile, inso-much as in short time hee became Commander of competent forces to stand openly in the field. And being desirous to make some proofe of his prowesse, hee sharply set upon his old adversary *Reignold Lord Grey of Ruthen*, whose possessions hee wasted and spoiled; slew many of his men, and tooke him selfe prisoner; yet gave him faire and friendly entertainment,

and promised him releasement, if he would take his Daughter to wife. This he desired, not so much for need of his ability or aid, as supposing that the name and countenance of a Lord, would give reputation to the house that was then but in rising; but the Lord Grey at the first did not so much refuse as scorne the offer: affirming that hee was no ward, to have his marriage obtruded upon him. Well (said Owen Glendore) although you bee not my ward, yet are you in my ward: and the suing your livery will cost double the marriage money that elsewhere you shall procure. The Lord Grey being not very rich to discharge his ransome, and seeing no other meanes of his deliverance, at the last accepted the condition, and tooke the Damosell to wife; notwithstanding his deceitfull Father in law, trilled out the time of his enlargement untill hee died.

The *Welshmen* being confident upon this successe, beganne to breake into the borders of *Hereford-shire*, and
to

to make spoyle and prey of the Countrey: against whom Lord *Edmund Mortimer* Earle of *March*, who for feare of King *Henry* had withdrawne himselfe (as hath beene declared) to *Wigmore* Castle, assembled all the Gentlemen of the Countrey, and meeting with the *Welshmen*; they joyned together a sharpe and cruell conflict: not in forme of a loose skirmish, but standing still and maintaining their place, they endeavoured with maine might to breake and beare downe one another. The courage and resolution of both sides was alike; but the *Welshmen* were superiour both for number and direction: for they were conducted by one knowne Leader, who with his presence every where assisted at need; enflaming his souldiers, some with shame and reproofe, others with praise and encouragement, all with hope and large promises: but the *Englishmen* had no certaine generall, but many confused Commanders, yea every man was a Commander to himselfe,

selfe, pressing forward on drawing back, as his owne courage or feare did move him. Inasmuch as no doubt they had taken a great blow that day by their ill governed boldnesse, had not *Owen Glendower* presently upon the breaking up of the field, ceased to pursue the execution, and shewed himselfe more able to get a victory, then skilfull to use it. But even to his side the victory had cost bloud, and many of those which remained, were either wounded or weary: the night was neere also, and they were in their enemies Countrey; by which means our men had liberty to retire rather then runne away, no man being hot to follow the chase. They lost of their company about a thousand men, who sold their lives at such a price, that when manhood had done the hardest against them, certaine mannish, or rather devilish women, whose malice is immortall, exercised a vaine revenge upon their dead bodies, in cutting off their privy parts and their noses, whereof the one they

stuffed

stuffed in their mouths, and pressed the other betweene their buttocks; and would not suffer their mangled carcasses to bee committed to the earth, untill they were redeemed with a great summe of money. By which cruell covetousnesse, the faction lost reputation and credite with the moderate sort of their own people; suspecting that it was not liberty but licentiousnesse which was desired: and that subjection to such unhumane minds would bee more insupportable then any bondage.

In this conflict, the Earle of *March* was taken prisoner and fettered with chaines, and cast into a deepe and vile dungeon. The King was solicited by many Noble men, to use some meanes for his deliverance; but he would not heare on that care; hee could rather have wished him and his two sisters in Heaven, for then the onely blemish to his title had beene out of the way: and no man can tell whether this mischance did not preserve him from a greater mischief.

Owen Glendore: by the prosperous successe of his actions, was growne now more hard to be dealt with, and hautely minded, and stood even upon termes of equality with the King: whereupon he proceeded further to invade the Marches of *Wales* on the West side of *Severne*; where he burnt many Villages and Townes, slew much people, and returned with great prey, and praises of his adherents. Thus he ceased not this yeare to infest the borderers on every side, amongst whom he found so weake resistance, that he seemed to exercise rather a spoile then a warre. For King *Henry* was then detained with his chiefe forces, in another more dangerous service, which besides these former vexations and hazards, this first yeare of his raigne happened unto him.

For the *Scotts* knowing that changes were times most apt for attempt, and upon advantage of the absence of all the chiefe *English* borderers, partly by occasion of the Parliaments, and partly,

partly by reason of the plague which was very grievous that yere in the North parts of the Realme: they made a road into the Countrey of *Northumberland*; and there committed great havock and harme. Also on a certaine night, they sodainly set upon the Castle of *Werke*, the Capitaine whereof Sir *Thomas Gray*, was then one of the Knights of the Parliament: and having slaine the watch partly a sleepe, partly amazed with feare, they brake in and surprisid the place: which they held a while, and at the last spoiled and ruinated and then departed. Whilest further harmes were feared, this passed with light regard. But when great perils were past, as if no worse misfortune could have befallen, then was it much sorrowed and lamented. And in revenge thereof, the *Englishmen* invaded and spoiled certaine Ilands of *Orkney*: and so the losse was in some sort repaired: yet (as in the reprisals of warre it commonly falleth out) neither against those particular persons

sons which committed the harme,
nor for those which suffered it: but
one for another were both recom-
penced and revenged. Againe, the
Scots set forth a fleet, under the con-
duct of Sir *Robert Logan*, with dire-
ction to attempt as occasion should
bee offered: his first purpose was a-
gainst our Fishermen; but before he
came to any action, hee was encount-
tered by certaine *Engliss* ships, and
the greatest part of his fleet taken.
Thus peace still continuing between
both the Realmes, a kind of theevish
hostility was dayly practised, which
afterwards brake out into open
warre upon this occasion.

George of Dunbarre Earle of the
Marches of Scotland, had betrothed
Elizabeth his Daughter to *David*, the
Sonne and Heire apparent of *Robert*
King of *Scots*, and in regard of that
marriage to be shortly celebrated and
finished, hee delivered into the Kings
hands a great summe of money for
his Daughters dowry. But *Archibald*
Earle *Douglasse* disdainning that the
Earle;

Earle of *Marches* bloud should bee preferred before his, so wrought with King *Robert*, that Prince *David* his Son refused the Earle of *Marches* Daughter, and tooke to wife *Mariell* Daughter to the Earle *Douglass*: Earle *George* not used to offers of disgrace, could hardly enforce his patience to endure this scorne: and first hee demanded restitution of his money, not so much for care to obtaine, as for desire to pick an occasion of breaking his allegiance. The King would make to him neither payment nor promise, but trifled him off with many delusory and vaine delayes: Whereupon hee fled with all his family into *England*, to Henry Earle of *Northumberland*, intending with open disloyalty both to revenge his indignity, and recover his losse. The *Englishmen* with open armes entertained the opportunity; with whose helpe and assistance, the Earle made divers incursions into *Scotland*, where hee burnt many Townes, and slew much people, and dayly purchased

sed with his sword, great abundance of booty and spoile.

Hereupon King *Robert* deprived the Earle of his honour, seized all his goods and possessions, and wrote unto King *Henry*, as hee would have the truce betweene them any longer to continue; either to deliver unto him, the Earle of *March* and other Traytours to his person and state, or else to banish them the Realme of *England*. King *Henry* perceiving such jarres to jogger betweene the two Realmes, that the peace was already as it were out of joynt, determined not to lose the benefit of the discontented Subjects of his enemy: whereupon hee returned an answer to the Herauld of *Scotland*, that hee was neither weary of Peace, nor fearefull of Warres, and ready as occasion should change, either to hold the one, or hazard the other: but the word of a Prince was of great weight; and therefore sith hee had granted a safe conduct to the Earle of *March* and his company,

pany, it were an impeachment to his honour, without just cause to violate the same. Vpon this answer the King of Scots did presently proclaime open warre against the King of England; with bloud, fire, and sword.

King Henry thought it policy, rather to beginne the warre in his enemies Countrey, then to expect it in their owne, because the Land which is the seat of the warre, doth commonly furnish both sides with necessary supply; the friend by contribution, and the enemy by spoile. Therefore sending certaine Troopes of horsemen before him, both to espy and to induce an uncertaine terror upon the enemy, hee entred into Scotland with a puissant army; wherewith hee burnt many Villages and Townes, cast downe diuerse Castles, and ruined a great part of the Townes of *Edenborough* and *Lith*, sparing nothing but Churches & religious houses: so that in all places as hee passed, the spectacle was ugly
and

and grisly which he left behind him; bodies torne in pieces, mangled and putrified limmes, the aire infected with stinck, the ground imbrued with corruption and bloud, the Countrey wasted, the Grasse and Corne troden downe and spoiled; insomuch as a man would have said that warre is an exercise not of manhood, but of inhumanity. They that fled before the army, filled all places with feare and terrour, extolling above truth the *English* forces, to diminish thereby their shame in running from shame.

In the end of *September*, the King besieged the Castle of *Maydens* in *Edenborough*; wherein were *David* Duke of *Rothsay* Prince of the Realme, and *Archibald* Earle *Douglasse*; the inconstancy of the one, and ambition of the other, were principall causes of all this warre.

During this siege, *Robert* Duke of *Albany*, who was appointed Governor of the Realme, because the King was sick and unable to rule, sent an Herald

Herauld unto Henry; assuring him upon his honour that if hee would abide but six dayes at the most, hee would give him battaile; and either remove the siege, or loose his life.

The King was well pleased with these tidings, and rewarded the Herauld with a gowne of silke, and a chaine of gould; and promised him in the word of a Prince, to abide there and expect the Governour, during the time by him prefixed.

The six dayes passed almost six times over, and no more newes was heard of the Governour, either by presence, or by messenger. Winter came on, and victuaile failed, the Countrey was cold and fruitlesse, and it rained every day in great abundance, so that partly by hunger, partly by distemperature of the weather, the Souldiers beganne to dye of the *Flixie*; it is very like that these accidents stayed the Governour from performing his promise, for policy was against it, to hazard his men in the field, when Winter and want,

want, two forceable foes had given the charge upon his enemies: certaine it is, that they moved the King to remove his siege, and to depart out of *Scotland*, without any battaile or skirmish offered.

Both the Wardens of the *Marches* were all this time in *Scotland* with the King: upon which advantage the *Scots* did breake into *Northumberland*, and burnt certaine Townes in *Bamborough* Shire. The *Englismen* were speedily up in armes; but the *Scots* more speedily made their returne, or else no doubt they had beene mette with, and encountered.

Againe when King *Henry* had discharged his army, the *Scots* being desirous not so much of life as of revenge, made a sudaine road into *England*, under the conduct of Sir *Thomas Halibarton* of *Dirleton*, and Sir *Patrick Hebburne*, of *Hales*: but all the harme which they wrought did rather waken then weaken the *Englismen*:
and

and they themselves were somewhat encouraged, but nothing enriched, by that which they got.

Not long after, Sir Patrick Heburne, being lifted up in desire and hope, resolved to undertake a greater enterprize: the people, which are easily led by prosperous success, in great Companies resorted to him; but hee was loath to have more fellowes in the spoile, then hee thought should need in the danger: therefore with a competent army of the men of *Leagubane*, hee invaded *Norshumberland*, where hee made great spoile, and loaded his Souldiers with prisoners and prey. There was no question made what perill might bee in the returne: Therefore they marched loosely and licentiously as in a place of great security, not keeping themselves to their ensignes and order: but the Earle of *Norshumberlands* Vice-warden, and other Gentlemen of the borders in good array, set upon

upon them at a Towne in *Northumberland* called *Nesbit*. The *Scots* rallied as well as the *Indainesse* did serve, and valiantly received the charge; so that the battaile was sharp and cruell, and continued a good time, with great mortality. In the end, the enemies rankes grew thinne, as being rather confusedly shuffled together, then orderly and firmly compacted: and when the *Vice-warden* felt them weak in the shock, and yeelding under his hand, with a company which hee purpose-ly retained about him for suddaine dispatches and chances of warre, hee fiercely charged and disordered them. *Sir Patrick Hebburne* being cleane destitute both of Counsaile and courage ranne up and downe from one place to another, commanding many things, and presently forbidding them againe; and the lesse of force his directions were, the oftner did hee change them: anon (as it happeneth in lost and desperate cases) every man became a Com-mander,

mander, and none a putter in execution: so the ranks loosed and brake, and could not bee reunited, the victour hotly pursuing the advantage. Then might you have seene a grievous spectacle, pursuing, killing, wounding, and taking, and killing those that were taken, when better were offered: every where weapons, and dead bodies, and mangled limames lay scattered: and sometimes in those that were slaine, appeared at their death both anger and valour.

Sir *Patrick Hebburne* thought of nothing lesse then either fleeing or yeelding, but thrusting among the thicke of his enemies, honourably ended his life. Many other of his lineage, and the flower of all *Loughdeane* were likewise slaine.

There were also taken, Sir *John* and *William Cockburne*, Sir *William Basse*, *Iohn* and *Thomas Habington* Esquires, and a great multitude of common souldiers.

On

On the *English* side, no great
number was slain; and those of
no great service and degree. And
with these troubles the life and
raigne of King *Henry*
the fourth en-
ded.

FINIS.
